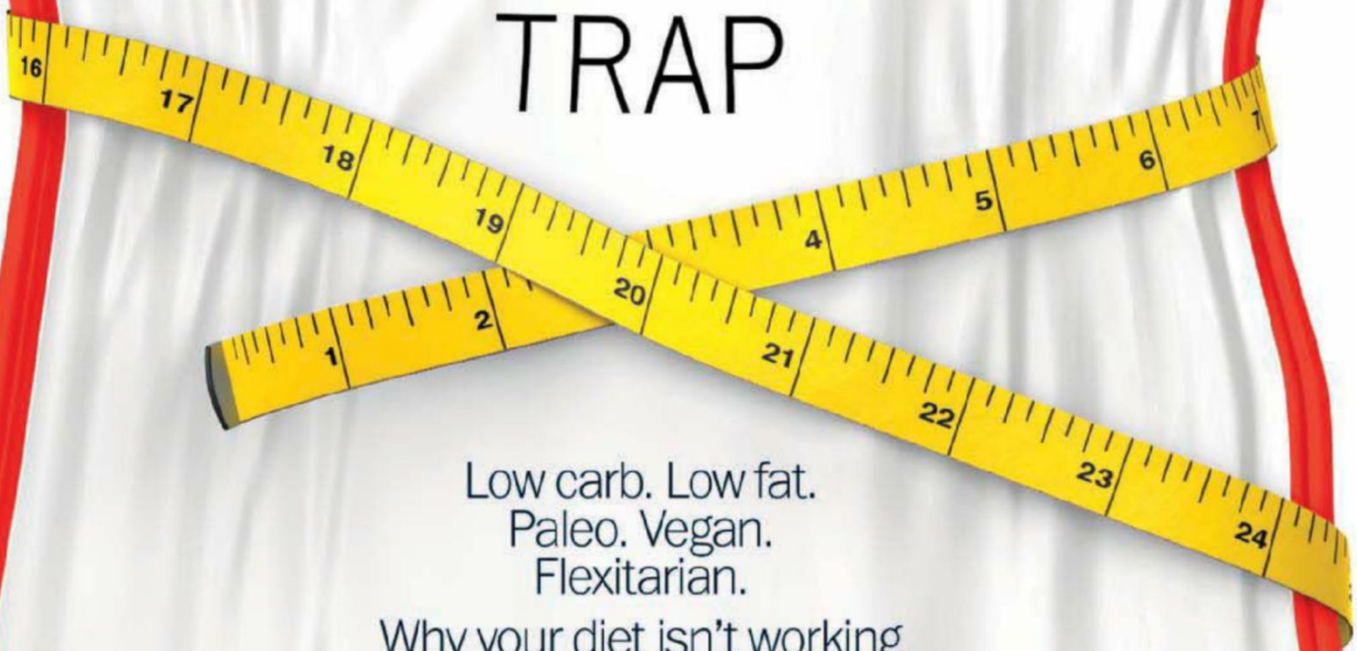
JUNE 5, 2017

TIME

THE WEIGHT LOSS TRAP



Low carb. Low fat.
Paleo. Vegan.
Flexitarian.

Why your diet isn't working

By Alexandra Sifferlin



1 *Based on recognized industry awards for 2014–2016 year-end totals.*



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Syrian refugee Taimaa Abazli, holding baby Heln, stares out the door of her apartment building in Polva, Estonia, on April 20. "It's better that Heln won't remember any of this," she says.

Photograph by Lynsey Addario—Verbatim for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Brobel Design for TIME*

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What you said about ...

HACKING U.S. DEMOCRACY Massimo Calabresi's May 29 story about Russia's use of social media to influence Americans was a reminder to be "wary of the source of that liked/upvoted social post," wrote Sanjeev Verma of Sunnyvale, Calif. However, as Francis Hamit of Sherman Oaks, Calif., pointed out, foreign attempts to sway American politics aren't necessarily new. "It's just that we are finally paying attention," he noted.

> 'You told the whole story with just one picture. No caption or text required.'
>
> **ALBERT ANDRUS,** Hamtramck, Mich.

The issue's cover provoked a similarly strong response. Anthony Plumer of Portland, Ore., called the image of Moscow's St. Basil's Cathedral merging with the White House "utterly chilling." But others argued such a cover should not run before an investigation into possible connections between the two is complete: "Until there is proof [Russia] has influenced or is influencing the man who now resides in the White House," wrote retired Seattle police sergeant Joy A. Mundy, "I believe he deserves to have the same respect that I gave a person when I had to make an arrest." And Archimandrite Nektarios Harding, a Russian Orthodox monk in Jordanville, N.Y., felt it was "blasphemous" to show the Cathedral in that way—just as Jay Timmer of Holland, Mich., thought the image disrespected the American flag that flies over the White House, "which stands for so much more than a political party or an editor's whim."

GROWING UP IN PUBLIC Fittingly, Belinda Luscombe's May 29 story on the families chronicling their lives on YouTube sparked social-media debate. "Our kid had a terminal disease and we documented all of her life on Facebook. I don't regret it in the least," Robert Scott of Rossford, Ohio, tweeted. On Facebook, Osama Rashad, a photographer in Cairo, said he hoped the kids in such videos had the power to say "we need to stop this" if it wasn't fun anymore.

Back in TIME

Aug. 17, 2009

This week's examination of the latest science of weight loss is not the first time we have tackled the subject. Read past issues at **time.com/vault**



THE BIG QUESTION More Americans were exercising regularly, but obesity was still increasing. Why?

THE ANSWER As one researcher put it, while exercise is good for other reasons, it's "pretty useless" for weight loss.

CHOICE FACTOID So, what accounts for the idea that you can work off the pounds? Sure, public-health officials recommend exercise for its own benefits, but a more surprising source was found in President Bill Clinton, whose jogging habits had made headlines just as interest in the weight-loss benefits of exercise increased. —LILY ROTHMAN

STATE OF THE UNIONS Almost 50 years after the Supreme Court legalized interracial marriage, more Americans are marrying people of other races than ever before. A new TIME data visualization shows the breakdown across the nation, based on Pew Research's new finding that 17% of all U.S. marriages in 2015 were between people of different races or ethnicities. See the analysis and full map at **time.com/PewMarriage**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In For the Record (May 22), we misspelled the name of the teen who won a year's supply of Wendy's chicken nuggets. He is Carter Wilkerson. In the same issue, the movie review "King Arthur as a knockabout guy" misstated the film's setting. It is 5th century Britain. Because of an editing error in "Hacking Democracy" (May 29), we misstated Jared Cohen's job title. He is the CEO of Jigsaw.

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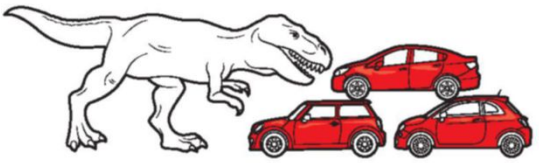
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‘I HAVE A SICKNESS, BUT I DO NOT HAVE AN EXCUSE.’

ANTHONY WEINER, former Democratic Congressman, pleading guilty on May 19 to sexting with a 15-year-old girl in North Carolina, a felony that requires him to register as a sex offender and could result in up to 10 years in prison; his wife, Huma Abedin, a top Hillary Clinton aide, filed for divorce the same day

7,800

Pounds of force unleashed in a *Tyrannosaurus rex*’s bite—the equivalent of being crushed by three small cars—according to a new *Scientific Reports* study



‘I am so so sorry. I don’t have words.’

ARIANA GRANDE, pop star, tweeting after a bomb exploded at the end of her concert at Manchester Arena in the U.K., killing at least 22 and injuring dozens more; ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack, and police arrested a 22-year-old male suspect

‘IT BECAME LIKE A GOD.’

KE JIE, the world’s top player of Go, the highly complex ancient Chinese board game, after a Google algorithm defeated him in a May 23 match; while an earlier version had beaten another highly ranked player more than a year ago, this victory affirmed artificial intelligence could beat the best human mind at a task thought to rely on human intuition and learning

Reese Witherspoon
The actor surprised students living in her old Stanford dorm room

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Reese’s Pieces
A federal class-action lawsuit alleged Hershey’s underfills the candy boxes

‘I will keep my promises.’

HASSAN ROUHANI, President of Iran, thanking supporters in Tehran for re-electing him on May 20, in what he portrayed as a commitment to democratic reform and a rebuke of Islamic extremism

$2,100,000,000

Amount of **money in President Trump’s budget under dispute**; critics say it is an example of “double counting,” using the same pot of money to offset both tax cuts and spending, but White House budget director Mick Mulvaney said they just assumed the tax plan eventually passed by Congress will be revenue neutral



$110,500,000

The value of the winning bid for Jean-Michel Basquiat’s painting *Untitled,* setting records for **most paid at an auction for work by an American artist** and for any work created after 1980

‘What do you give him to eat, potica?’

POPE FRANCIS, jokingly asking First Lady Melania Trump if she ever feeds President Trump one of the Pontiff’s favorite pastries—which is from Melania’s native Slovakia—during the Trumps’ visit to the Vatican on May 24; she smiled and replied, “Yes”

SOURCES: CONSUMERIST; NEW YORK TIMES; SOTHEBY’S; WASHINGTON POST

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME; SOTHEBY’S/AP



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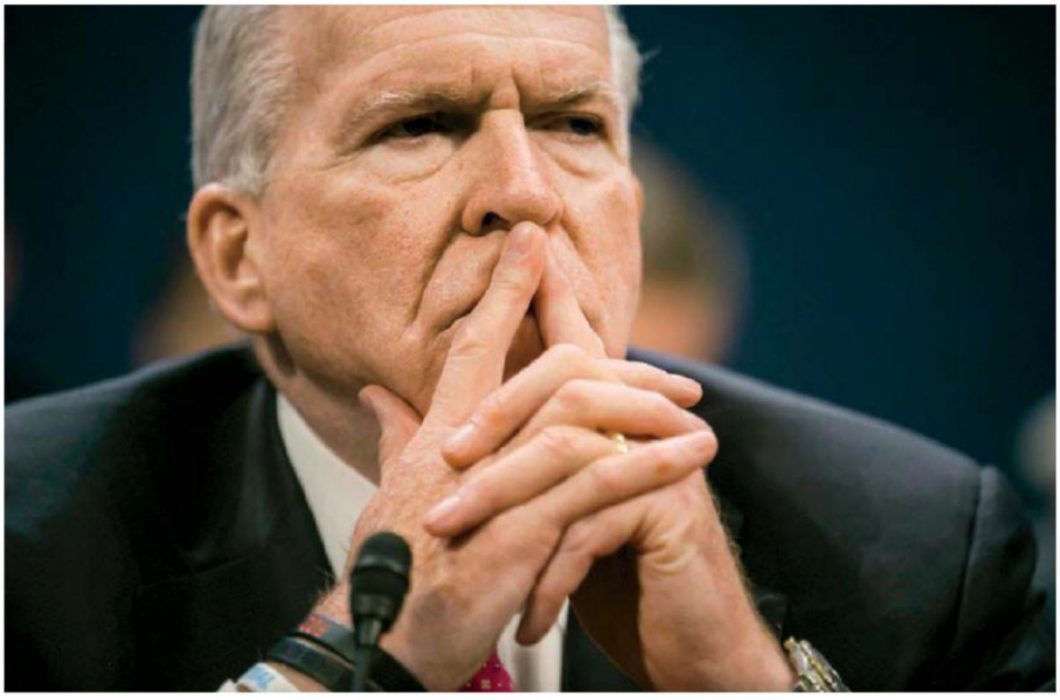
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The Brief

'THE RISK FOR PENCE IS THAT STANDING TOO CLOSE TO TRUMP COULD HOBBLE HIS POLITICAL FUTURE.' —PAGE 18



Former CIA chief John Brennan testifies on May 23 about Trump and Russian election espionage

THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

POLITICS

Trump and his allies stumble as Russia probe moves closer to the White House

By Massimo Calabresi

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN Trey Gowdy was just trying to help. But as they have for weeks, attempts to defend President Trump against the accelerating investigation into possible collusion between his campaign and Russia just seem to make things worse. At a May 23 House Intelligence Committee hearing into the Russian operation against the 2016 presidential election, Gowdy asked former CIA chief John Brennan, who stepped down on Jan. 20, whether he had seen any "evidence of collusion, coordination [or] conspiracy between Donald Trump and Russian state actors."

If Gowdy thought Brennan was going to distance the President from the spreading scandal, his move backfired. "I saw information and intelligence that was worthy of investigation by the [FBI] to determine whether or not such cooperation or [collusion] was taking place," Brennan said. When pressed by the retreating Gowdy on whether he meant Trump in particular, Brennan said he wasn't referring to "any individuals" but wouldn't rule Trump out, either. The damage was done.

For Trump, his aides and his allies in Congress, the investigation into Russia's election meddling gets worse by the day. The leaks about the probe are bad enough, with suspicion moving daily closer to the President. But as Republicans scramble, ad hoc, to counter the constant revelations, much of the damage has been self-inflicted.

FBI and congressional investigators are reviewing 18 previously undisclosed phone and email contacts

with Russian officials by Trump's then national security aide, Michael Flynn, and other campaign officials, Reuters reported. And the FBI probe has reached the highest levels of government, the Washington *Post* reported shortly afterward, with a current senior White House official now a significant person of interest in the case. Among the key issues investigators want to ask the unidentified White House official about: collaboration on Russia's influence operation against the election.

Unforced errors haven't helped. A day after Trump fired FBI Director James Comey, nominally for mishandling last year's investigation into Hillary Clinton's emails, the President told the visiting Russian Foreign Minister and others that he had axed Comey because of the Russia probe, the New York *Times* reported 10 days later, on May 19. Then, on May 22, the *Post* reported that Trump had asked his Director of National Intelligence, Dan Coats, and his National Security Agency chief, Admiral Mike Rogers, to pressure Comey to drop the FBI probe back in March.

Those revelations have worried Republicans facing re-election in 2018, and make a new investigation into possible obstruction of justice by Trump more likely. Trump has hired Marc Kasowitz, a lawyer who handled divorce and libel issues for the real estate mogul in New York City, to represent him in the Russia matter, in what Republicans hope is a sign that the President is beginning to realize he can't bluster his way out of the mess. Administration officials are attempting to impose order on the White House handling of the probe by instituting a separate communications and decisionmaking operation to manage it.

But the real danger for Trump, ultimately, comes from an investigation that has its own momentum. Far from being the "witch hunt" that he has decried, it is moving with cold efficiency under the leadership of newly appointed special counsel Robert Mueller. Investigators have reportedly issued subpoenas for documents and are preparing to interview key players, a sign that the FBI is making tangible progress under the oversight of the courts.

Which means any discipline by Trump and the White House may be little help. Brennan made that clear when Republican Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen asked him at the May 23 hearing about previous Russian attempts to influence U.S. elections. As a young analyst at the agency, Brennan said, he had seen Russian spies trick Americans into colluding with them but that "frequently, individuals who go along that treasonous path do not even realize they're along that path until it gets to be a bit too late." The question only investigators can now answer: Just how late is it? —*With reporting by* ZEKE J. MILLER *and* MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON

TICKER

Highest court rejects district lines

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected two gerrymandered congressional districts in North Carolina, ruling that lawmakers had violated the Constitution by relying too heavily on race when redrawing them after the 2010 Census.

Philippines police chief beheaded

Militants linked to ISIS beheaded a police chief and killed other members of the security forces as they swept through the southern Philippine city of Marawi. President Rodrigo Duterte said he may declare martial law "to protect the people."

Uber to refund New York City drivers

Uber said it would refund its New York City drivers an average of roughly $900 each after it admitted to underpaying them. The ride-sharing company revealed that it had been mistakenly taking too large a cut of their fares since November 2014.

FCC won't punish Colbert's Trump dig

The Federal Communications Commission said it would not take action against *Late Show* host Stephen Colbert after a sexually charged joke he made about President Trump received a number of complaints.

CRIME

Real-life robocops

A robot that can recognize human voices and gestures has officially joined Dubai's police force to help people report crimes and pay fines. But the United Arab Emirates isn't the only country embracing crime-fighting machines. —*Julia Zorthian*



CHINA
The AnBot that patrols Henan's Zhengzhou East Railway Station can monitor air quality, detect emergencies like fires and use facial-recognition technology to follow potential criminals.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
These 8-ft.-tall solar-powered machines help police direct traffic in the capital of Kinshasa.



U.S.
This "bomb robot," which touts an explosive device on its arm, was used by Dallas police in 2016 to kill a gunman suspected of fatally shooting five officers.

DIGITS

85

Age when Japan's 83-year-old Emperor Akihito is expected to abdicate the Chrysanthemum Throne, now that the Cabinet has approved a bill allowing him to retire. He will be succeeded by his elder son, Crown Prince Naruhito.





JUST MARRIED Pippa Middleton, British author and sister of Catherine, the Duchess of Cambridge, drives off with her husband, city financier James Matthews, following their wedding on May 20 in Englefield Green, England. The reception was held at the Middleton family home and attended by about 300 guests, including Prince Harry and his girlfriend, *Suits* star Meghan Markle. *Photo by Beretta—Sims/REX/Shutterstock*

HEALTH

What the World Health Organization's new leader must tackle

ON MAY 23, TEDROS ADHANOM Ghebreyesus, a former Health and Foreign Affairs Minister in Ethiopia, was voted the new leader of the World Health Organization (WHO). His appointment comes at a tough time for the cash-strapped agency, which has received criticism for its slow response to the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa. In his new role, Tedros must be ready to fight a range of public-health problems.

EPIDEMICS The Ebola virus continues to surface in Central and West Africa, with a handful of deaths and suspected cases recently reported in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Health experts are also concerned about the H7N9 virus, a flu strain with pandemic potential.

SUPERBUGS The WHO made a commitment in 2016 to tackle superbugs—bacterial infections that no longer respond to the antibiotics used to treat them. It's estimated that the number of people who die from antibiotic-resistant infections could reach 10 million a year by 2050.

CHRONIC DISEASE Rates of diseases like cancer, diabetes and heart disease are on the rise worldwide, and according to the WHO, chronic disease kills 40 million people each year—or about 70% of all deaths globally. The WHO is overseeing commitments from heads of state to reduce one-third of premature deaths from these diseases by 2030 through prevention and treatment. —ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN



Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus is the first native African to lead the WHO

ROBOCOPS: GETTY IMAGES (3); AKIHITO: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; TEDROS: EPA

DATA

HOME BUYING ACROSS AMERICA

Wondering where your dollar goes the furthest? Here's what $196,500 (the median value of a U.S. home in 2017) buys in various cities, per data from real estate site Zillow. *—David Johnson*



Four four-bedroom homes in **Detroit** ($45,000 each)



One four-bedroom home in **Columbus, Ohio** ($195,000)



One three-bedroom home in **New Orleans** ($191,000)



One two-bedroom home in **Anchorage** ($189,000)



Half of a one-bedroom home in **Seattle** ($388,000)



A quarter of a one-bedroom home in **San Francisco** ($819,000)

TICKER

30-plus drown after migrant boat fall

More than 30 people, many of whom were toddlers, drowned after falling from an overcrowded migrant boat off the coast of Libya. About 200 people fell from the vessel, which was trying to reach Europe from North Africa.

South Koreans sue over fine dust

A group of South Koreans launched a suit against the governments in Beijing and Seoul, claiming to have suffered mental distress because of fine dust blowing into South Korea from the western deserts of China. The plaintiffs are seeking $2,600 each in compensation.

Climbers' bodies found on Everest

The bodies of four climbers were found in a tent on Mount Everest, raising this season's death toll to 10. The discovery was made by a team dispatched to retrieve the body of a Slovakian climber who had died three days before.

Slain Bowie student honored by college

The Bowie State University student who was fatally stabbed in a "totally unprovoked" attack at the University of Maryland, College Park, was honored at his commencement ceremony on May 23. Richard Collins III's family accepted his posthumous bachelor's degree on his behalf.

THE RISK REPORT

Five world leaders who are less popular than President Trump

By Ian Bremmer

DONALD TRUMP HAS HAD A HISTORICALLY bad series of news cycles as of late. But the President—with an approval rating just above 40%—is sitting pretty compared with some other heads of state and government:



NICOLÁS MADURO OF VENEZUELA

President Maduro may have retained an approval rate in the mid-to-low-20s since last year, but he is currently the world's most embattled political leader. Venezuelans take to the streets daily to protest his government amid crippling food and medicine shortages. So far, Maduro has used a combination of police forces, the national guard and armed militias to contain them, which has made the situation worse.



MICHEL TEMER OF BRAZIL

Following Dilma Rousseff, who was impeached, should have been easy. Not so for President Temer, who is barely hanging on to his job—his approval rating is in the single digits—after recordings emerged of him allegedly negotiating the payment of a bribe to silence a fellow corrupt politician. Meanwhile, the slowdown of the global economy has led to Brazil's worst recession ever.



JACOB ZUMA OF SOUTH AFRICA

Although his country's economic woes have contributed to his 20% approval rating, Zuma himself is a problem too. He has had nearly 800 charges of corruption leveled against him. He has fired well-respected ministers who happen to be political rivals. He appears to be grooming his ex-wife to be his political successor to protect himself from prosecution once he leaves office.



NAJIB RAZAK OF MALAYSIA

Najib has been in office since 2009, when he established an economic-development investment fund, 1Malaysia Development Berhad. Global investigators think around $700 million ended up in Najib's personal account, which he tried to pass off as a "gift" from the Saudi royal family. His approval rating is now at record lows—though he retains firm control of his country's dominant political party.



ALEXIS TSIPRAS OF GREECE

Tsipras continues to fall in polls as he is forced to accept more and more austerity measures to keep his country afloat. (Greece has lost 25% of its GDP since its pre-financial-crisis high.) That said, the Prime Minister's enduring antiestablishment credentials and combative rhetoric make him the only Greek politician able to push through those measures with minimal public outcry. Sometimes democracies need unpopular leaders. □

SCIENCE

Meet the world's 'newest' plants

Scientists found 1,730 new plant species globally in 2016, according to the most recent report from the Royal Botanic Gardens in London. Here are three of the most notable discoveries. —*Tara John*

MUCUNA CHIAPANECA

The climbing vine, which was found in Mexico, is one of nine new species that are related to the genus *Mucuna*. They contain a dopamine precursor, L-DOPA, which may help treat Parkinson's disease.

MANIHOT DEBILIS

Scientists found this wild relative to cassava—a diet staple in the developing world—in central Brazil. It could help scientists develop new strains of cassava that are more resistant to climate change.



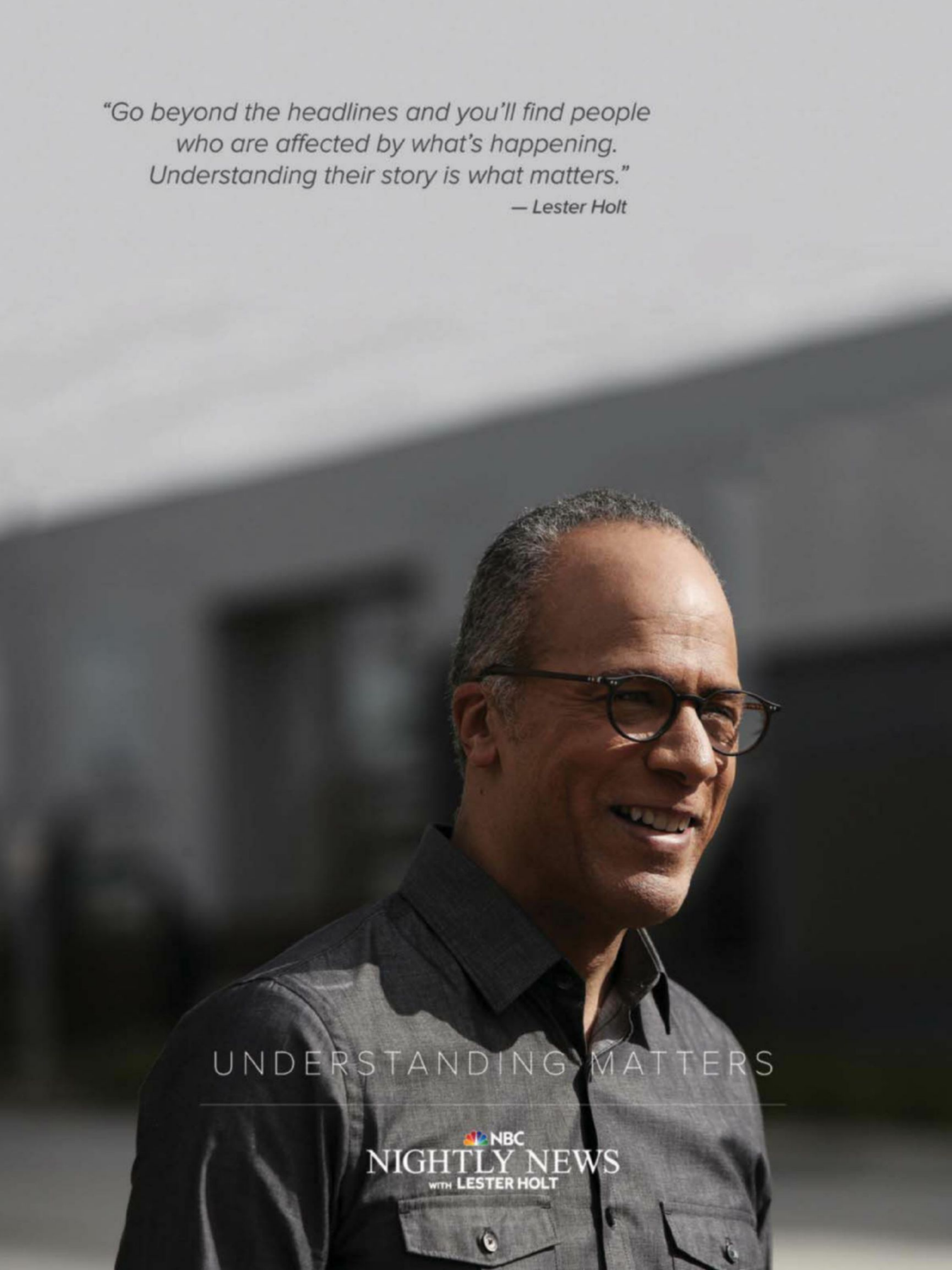
BEGONIA ACIDULENTA

This 19-in.-long plant is one of 29 new species of *Begonia* that were discovered mainly in the forests of Malaysia. Locals use its leaves to polish silver and as an acidic food flavoring.

THE RISK REPORT: GETTY IMAGES (5); SCIENCE: ILLUSTRATION BY LUCY ENGELMAN FOR TIME

"Go beyond the headlines and you'll find people who are affected by what's happening. Understanding their story is what matters."

— Lester Holt



Milestones

DIED

Roger Ailes
Shaper of partisan politics



In 1988, TIME called Ailes "the dark prince of negative advertising"

ROGER AILES, WHO DIED at 77 on May 18, days after a fall at his home, will be remembered for grasping earlier and better than anyone else cable television's great power to shape the popular perception of politics, and to cultivate and monetize grievance.

His signal achievement in that particular area was Fox News Channel, the network he founded with Rupert Murdoch in 1996. Fox grew into one of media's most profitable shops by turning the American culture wars into a 24-hour spectacle—and taking a side. Ailes' "fair and balanced" network fancied itself a corrective to the supposed liberal domination of news and entertainment. And Fox thrived as hosts like Bill O'Reilly, Sean Hannity and Megyn Kelly defended the misadventures of George W. Bush; lamented a supposed "war on Christmas"; and relentlessly criticized Barack Obama, who, as a black leader beloved by celebrities, journalists and foreign leaders, was essentially an enemy of everything Fox stood for.

Fox News was indeed the masterwork of a man who had spent most of his time at the intersection of TV and the GOP. In 1967, while producing a syndicated variety show, Ailes told then candidate Richard Nixon, who was bemoaning that he had to stoop to the "gimmick" of TV, that it was no gimmick and that such thinking would make Nixon lose again. Ailes would go on to consult for the presidential campaigns of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush, and on smaller campaigns like the successful 1984 bid to elect a Kentucky lawyer named Mitch McConnell to the U.S. Senate.

Unlike the politicians he helped elect, Ailes wielded his power without oversight and accountability—for nearly 20 years, anyway. Last summer former Fox anchor Gretchen Carlson filed a lawsuit against Ailes, alleging sexual harassment; soon after, several other women went public with similar stories. Ailes denied the charges, but by July 21 he had left Fox News. Then, in April of this year, 11 Fox News employees filed a class action against the network, alleging they had faced "hostile racial discrimination" from Ailes and O'Reilly, among others. (Fox denied the charges.)

Ailes is survived by his wife, their teenage son and conservative control of all three branches of American government. President Trump was not only Ailes' friend (Trump called him "the ultimate winner") but remains, even in office, a Fox devotee. No presidency owes more to the political and journalistic climate that Ailes created. And yet Ailes won't be around to see how it ends.

—JACK DICKEY

DIED

Roger Moore, the British actor known for playing the third incarnation of secret agent James Bond, at 89. Moore had been a UNICEF goodwill ambassador since 1991 and was passionate about preventing animal cruelty.



› Singer **Chris Cornell,** a key figure in the U.S. grunge-rock movement, who fronted the bands Soundgarden and Audioslave, at 52.

› **Dina Merrill,** the heiress who defied her rich parents to become an actor and starred in many mid–20th century movies, at 93.

RULED

Same-sex marriage as legal in Taiwan, a first-of-its-kind decision in Asia. According to Taiwan's Constitutional Court, the island's current laws, which defined marriage as heterosexual, violated the constitution.

HIRED

James Hackett, as the chief executive of Ford Motor Company, in a bid to refocus the company's strategy. Hackett replaces CEO Mark Fields after less than three years on the job.

AILES: MATT FURMAN—REDUX; MOORE: KEITH HAMSHERE—GETTY IMAGES


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WHITE HOUSE

The persistent passion of Vice President Mike Pence

By Philip Elliott

LIKE EVERYONE ELSE IN OFFICIAL Washington, Vice President Mike Pence sometimes struggles to keep track of what is happening inside the White House. So he knew people would be closely watching when he traveled north on May 20 to deliver a commencement address for graduates of Pennsylvania's Grove City College, a devoutly Christian school where chapel attendance is mandatory and federal student aid is rejected, freeing the institution to ignore nondiscrimination laws.

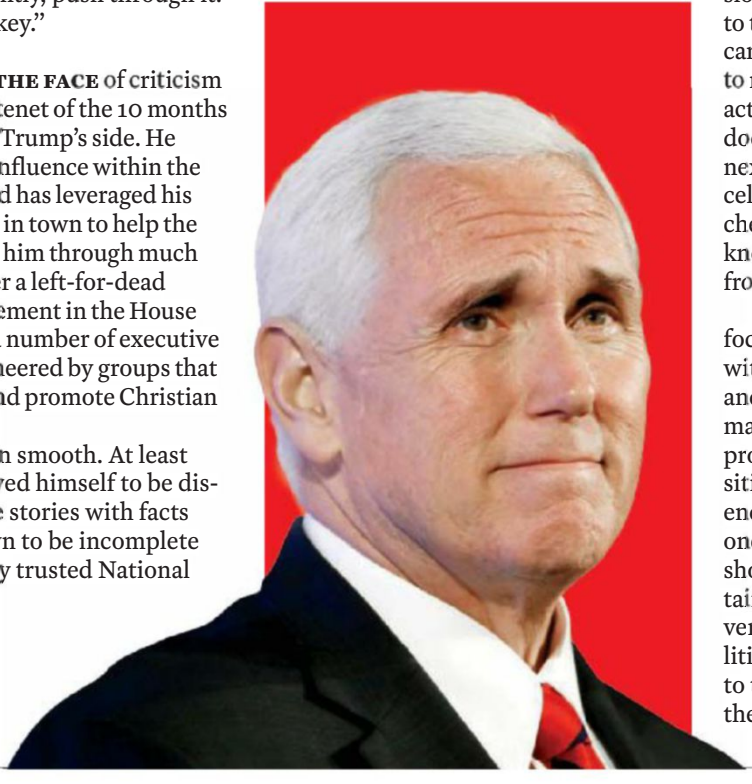
"Servant leadership, not selfish ambition, must be the animating force of the career that lies before you," Pence told the graduates. The words were cribbed from his evangelical beliefs, but they also described the mission that Pence has adopted for himself, as the only person in President Donald Trump's West Wing orbit who cannot be fired. "Don't fear criticism," the Vice President continued. "Have the humility to listen to it. Learn from it. And most importantly, push through it. Persistence is the key."

PERSISTENCE IN THE FACE of criticism has been a central tenet of the 10 months Pence has spent at Trump's side. He wields incredible influence within the Administration and has leveraged his deep relationships in town to help the President, guiding him through much of the haggling over a left-for-dead Obamacare replacement in the House and helping steer a number of executive moves that were cheered by groups that oppose abortion and promote Christian education.

It hasn't all been smooth. At least twice, he has allowed himself to be dispatched to dispute stories with facts that are later shown to be incomplete at best. He wrongly trusted National Security Adviser Mike Flynn's denial that he had been in touch with his Russian counterparts. Pence was later left out to dry when he tried to defend the President's decision to can FBI Director James Comey.

The risk for Pence is that standing too close to Trump could hobble his political future. The Vice President is 57 years old, and his advisers doubt this is his last role in public life, even as they rightly cast talk of Trump's impeachment or resignation as far-fetched. In fact, they recently helped him start a political action committee to help him boost his profile.

"He needs to get a leftover tightrope from Ringling Bros., because that's what he has to walk—between being a good soldier, helping fight for the President and his agenda, while also keeping his distance from the whole Russia mess," said Michael Steel, a Republican strategist and former top spokesman to then House Speaker John Boehner.



ALEX BRANDON—AP

› *More than almost anyone in Trump's circle, Pence is in demand*

To date, Pence has followed the advice he offered the graduates, hunkering down, reaffirming his loyalty and modesty, serving the man who elevated him from the Indiana governor's mansion to the White House. His advisers say the public embarrassments haven't registered with voters, especially Trump's loyal supporters.

Nor have the stumbles made Pence any less in demand. Though he did not travel overseas with the President, he is often Trump's companion back home, sharing meals with the President and spending hours in the Oval Office. Lobbyists who want to meet with Pence find it wise to clear several hours to fit in a 10-minute chat, since there is always a good chance Trump will ask him to an unscheduled meeting or photo op. So they wait on the red couches in the White House lobby or the gold-and-blue armchairs in Pence's West Wing suite, believing that the inconvenience is worth it.

PENCE VERY MUCH NEEDS to stay in the President's good graces in order to speak on his behalf. In recent weeks alone, he has been trying to cajole the House to take up a White House–backed version of tax reform, pushing the Senate to take the next steps to scrap Obamacare and leaning on the entire Congress to make good on the promise to pass an actual, honest-to-goodness budget that does more than punt hard choices to the next fiscal year. Amid it all, he is on his cell phone with lawmakers who want to check in on this parochial issue or that, knowing Pence will always take the call from friends, old and new alike.

It keeps Pence busy, as well as focused on what is possible. Fighting with Trump is seldom a wise course, and you don't change a 70-year-old man. Trying to settle scores in this leak-prone White House is a losing proposition. So Pence dutifully pads to the end of the hallway when called, makes one turn and finds himself in the Oval showroom where the President entertains guests during freewheeling conversations that drive schedulers and political advisers bonkers. Pence is happy to take his spot in the gallery to watch the performance, a loyal and selfless servant with the goal in his sights. □

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DIPLOMACY

Trump discards campaign baggage on first overseas trip

DONALD TRUMP RAN FOR President by campaigning against NATO, the E.U. and other sacred cows, once calling Pope Francis "disgraceful." He famously said, "Islam hates us," and in office quickly signed not one but two Executive Orders attempting to bar immigration from majority-Muslim nations.

So there was something compelling in the itinerary of his first overseas trip. It began in Saudi Arabia, "the heart of the Muslim world," as Trump said in his munificent speech to assembled leaders of Sunni nations. He also took in a NATO summit in Brussels and passed a day at the Vatican, where Francis welcomed the U.S. President as a prodigal son. Along the way, Trump spent two days in Jerusalem, where the late Ariel Sharon once remarked on the shift in perspective that compels a candidate to change positions once in office: "What you see from here you don't see from there."

Trump's vow to forge a final peace agreement between Israelis and the Palestinians—"the ultimate deal"—was one position that survived the transition to the presidency. In Riyadh, he announced a foreign policy of "principled realism" rather than "America first." "We will make decisions based on real-world outcomes—not inflexible ideology. We will be guided by the lessons of experience, not the confines of rigid thinking. And, wherever possible, we will seek gradual reforms—not sudden intervention." —KARL VICK

Trump and Francis chat before a private discussion in the Vatican on May 24

PHOTOGRAPH BY L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO/POOL/AP

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TIME100 Gala

On Tuesday, April 25, the TIME 100 Gala lit up New York City's Jazz at Lincoln Center. More than 300 luminaries walked the red carpet — activists, artists, leaders, and entrepreneurs from around the world. This annual gala celebrates the TIME 100 list: the most influential people in the world.

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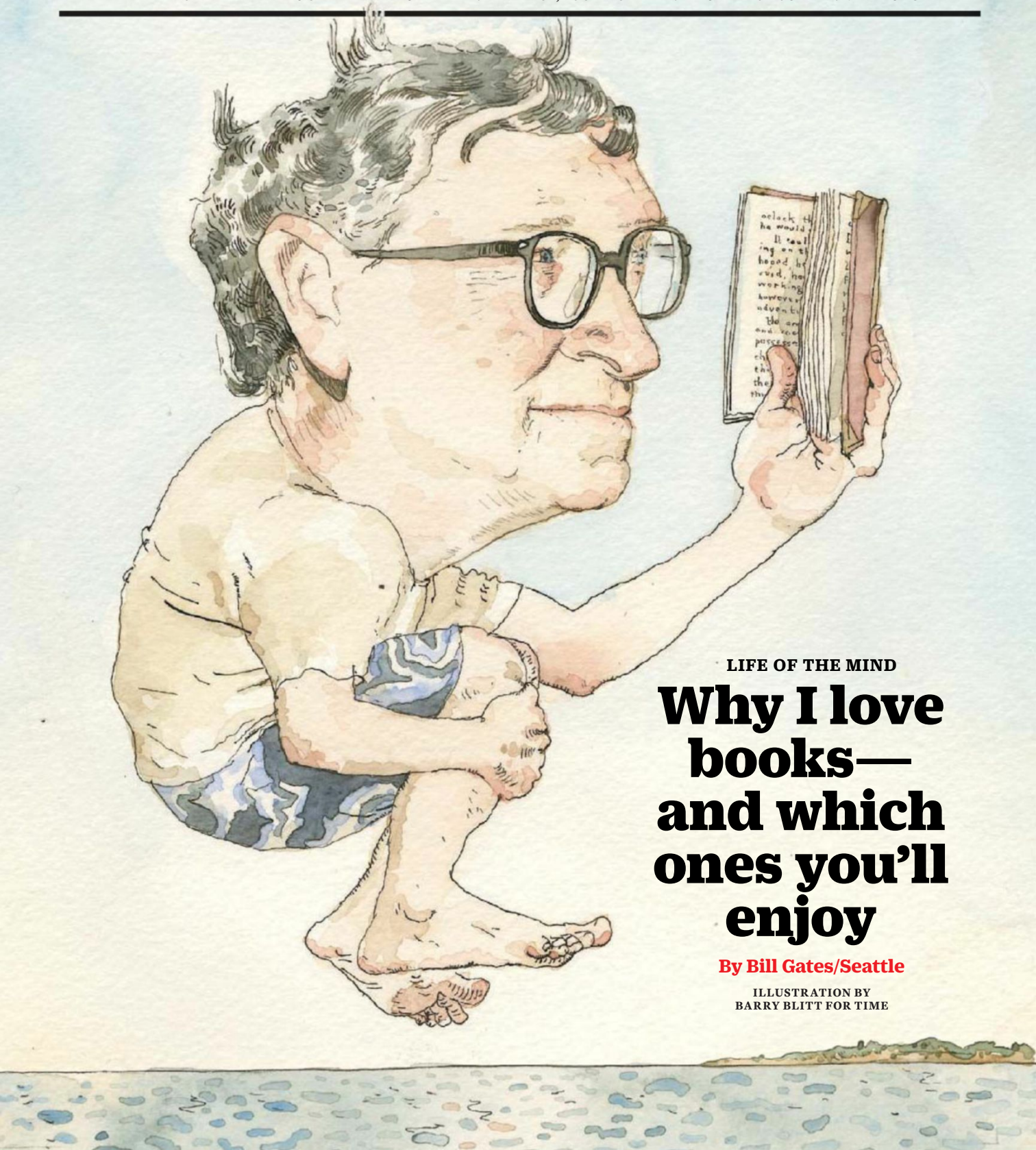
JOHNNIE WALKER.
KEEP WALKING.

Clockwise from top left: Cocktail reception with honorees and guests in the Atrium; Aston Martin "DB11" display; Sarah Paulson, Chrissy Teigen, and John Legend chat in the Atrium; Colin Kaepernick and Nessa Diab pose for a photo; Aya Elsekhely, Ibtihaj Muhammad, Lindsey Vonn, and Linda Sarsour at the cocktail reception; Viola Davis gives remarks; RuPaul, Megyn Kelly, and Leslie Jones at dinner; Sister Rosemary Nyirumbe and Padma Lakshmi; Blake Lively and Ryan Reynolds head into the after-party; Raed al-Saleh gives remarks; a glimpse of the specialty cocktails served to guests, compliments of Johnnie Walker; Fan Bingbing enjoys the after-party.

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The View

'THE NATION AT KENNEDY'S CENTENNIAL IS A DIFFERENT PLACE, LOOKING INWARD INSTEAD OF OUTWARD.' —PAGE 32



LIFE OF THE MIND

Why I love books—and which ones you'll enjoy

By Bill Gates/Seattle

ILLUSTRATION BY BARRY BLITT FOR TIME

Several times a year, Bill Gates releases favorite recent reads, including a summer recommendation list for fellow passionate readers. Gates spoke to TIME about his new list—shared on these pages—his voracious appetite for the written word and the books that have influenced his life and mind.

What book do you most often recommend? Who is your most trusted book recommender? I read Steven Pinker's *The Better Angels of Our Nature* a few years ago and got to talk to him about it after, which was a lot of fun. I reviewed it for my blog, Gates Notes, because I wanted other people to read it, love it and hopefully learn from it the way I did. It's probably my favorite book and the one I recommend most often.

I always trust Melinda's recommendations, even if they seem like unlikely choices for me at the start. *The Rosie Project* is a great example of that. My kids are old enough now that their taste in books sometimes crosses over with mine. My son is really into history and policy, and has suggested lots of great books that I might have missed.

What one, two or three books changed your life? Back to Pinker's *Better Angels*. It changed the way I think about the world. He argues that violence in human society is decreasing at a rapid rate, and our tolerance of violence is decreasing even faster. The idea at the center of his book—that the world is getting better in lots of ways—is part of the motivation for the work Melinda and I do with our foundation. Obviously, people can't ignore things like war and terrorism and violence, but we can be hopeful and inspired to keep making progress.

Warren Buffett loaned me his copy of *Business Adventures* by John Brooks many years ago. It's still the best business book I've ever read. It's a collection of Brooks' *New Yorker* essays about why various companies succeeded or failed. The essay titled "Xerox Xerox Xerox Xerox" should win an award for most clever chapter name, and the lessons inside the book are even better. I took inspiration from it while running Microsoft.

F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby,* which, like a lot of people, I first read as a teenager, is special to me in a different way. Melinda and I both love the book, and it's the novel that I re-read the most. This line is one of our favorites: "His dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it."

> 'Warren Buffett loaned me his copy of *Business Adventures* by John Brooks many years ago. It's still the best business book.'



What's your favorite book from childhood? It's hard to pick a favorite, since books, especially nonfiction, were a big part of my childhood. I read the whole set of World Book encyclopedias when I was a kid. My elementary school librarian, Mrs. Blanche Caffiere at Seattle's View Ridge Elementary School, introduced me to biographies of famous figures throughout history.

Have you ever pretended to read a book that you hadn't read? I don't think I've ever done that. The biggest problem I have is that I refuse to stop reading a book in the middle, even if I don't like it. And the more I dislike a book, the more time I take to write margin notes. That means I sometimes spend more time reading a book that I can't stand than a book that I love.

Where do you read? And how? E-book? On a plane? I keep thinking I should go digital sometime, but I still like to read the old-fashioned way since I write a lot of notes in the margins. I always take a big canvas tote bag of books when I go on vacation. I have a bad habit of staying up really late if I'm in the middle of a book that I love.

Why do you incorporate fiction into your mostly nonfiction diet? A lot of the reading I do is so I can keep learning about the world. But I love the way good fiction can take you out of your own thoughts and into someone else's. I used to read a lot of science fiction when I was younger, and then I got out of the habit until I read *Seveneves* by Neal Stephenson. The detailed world that he created just blew me away. And most of the science holds up! I have another novel on my summer book list this year, *The Heart,* by a French author, Maylis de Kerangal. It's incredibly well-written and made me tear up at times. She really makes you care about the characters—the young man whose heart is being transplanted into another patient, their families and all the emotions that that situation creates.

Do you think reading has been essential to your success, and is it to others'? Absolutely. You don't really start getting old until you stop learning. Every book teaches me something new or helps me see things differently. I was lucky to have parents who encouraged me to read. Reading fuels a sense of curiosity about the world, which I think helped drive me forward in my career and in the work that I do now with my foundation.

> 'I read the whole set of World Book encyclopedias when I was a kid.'

If you could have a conversation with any author in the world, dead or living, who would it be? I'm lucky that I get to have conversations with a lot of authors whose work I love. You can find videos of some of those conversations on Gates Notes. One person I'm sorry I never got to meet is the physicist Richard Feynman. He had a brilliant mind and was a phenomenal teacher. His two memoirs, *Surely You're Joking, Mr. Feynman!* and *What Do You Care What Other People Think?,* are wonderful for anyone who loves science or entertaining stories about playing bongos and cracking safes.

—CLAIRE HOWORTH *and* SAMUEL P. JACOBS

THE LIST

How I picked the five books for this summer's selection

SUMMER IS A GREAT TIME TO escape: to the beach, to the mountains or to the world of a great book. This year, I have found myself drawn even more than usual to books that take me outside, and I don't mean the great outdoors. These books push me out of my own experiences, and I learned some things that shed new light on where humanity might be headed.

Some of these books helped me better understand what it's like to grow up outside of the mainstream: as a child of mixed race in apartheid South Africa, as a young man trying to escape his impoverished life in rural Appalachia or as the son of a peanut farmer in Plains, Ga. I hope you'll find that others make you think deeper about what it means to truly connect with other people and to have purpose in your life. All of them will transport you somewhere else—whether you're sitting on a beach towel or your couch.

CRITIC'S NOTEPAD
Gates reviews these books and hundreds of others on gatesnotes.com

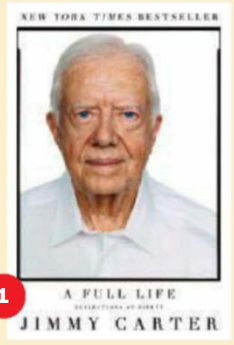
Even though former President Jimmy Carter has already written more than two dozen books, he somehow managed to save some great anecdotes for *A Full Life,* a quick, condensed tour of his fascinating life. The book will help you understand how growing up in rural Georgia in a house without running water, electricity or insulation shaped—for better and for worse—his time in the White House. *A Full Life* feels timely in an era when the public's confidence in national political figures and institutions is low.

I recommended Yuval Noah Harari's book *Sapiens* on last summer's reading list, and *Homo Deus,* his provocative follow-up, is just as challenging, readable and thought-provoking. Harari argues that the principles that have organized society will undergo a huge shift in the 21st century, with major consequences for life as we know it. So far, the things that have shaped society—what we measure ourselves by—have been either religious rules about how to live a good life or more earthly goals like getting rid of sickness, hunger and war. I don't agree with everything Harari has to say, but he has provided a smart look at what may be ahead for humanity.

While you'll find Maylis de Kerangal's novel *The Heart* in the fiction section at your local bookstore, what she has done in this exploration of grief is closer to poetry. At its most basic level, *The Heart* tells the story of a heart transplant: a young man is killed in an accident, and his parents decide to donate his heart. I'm glad Melinda recommended this book to me, and I recently passed it along to a friend who, like me, sticks mostly with nonfiction.

As a longtime fan of *The Daily Show,* I loved reading host Trevor Noah's memoir about how he honed his outsider approach to comedy over a lifetime of never quite fitting in. Born to a black South African mother and a white Swiss father in apartheid South Africa, he entered the world as a biracial child in a country where mixed-race relationships were forbidden.

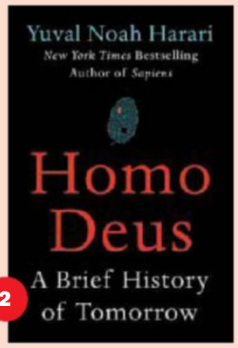
And finally, the disadvantaged world of poor white Appalachia described in J.D. Vance's terrific, heartbreaking *Hillbilly Elegy* is one that I know only vicariously. While the book offers insights into some of the complex cultural and family issues behind poverty, the real magic lies in the story itself and in Vance's bravery in telling it.



1

A FULL LIFE
Jimmy Carter
At fewer than 250 pages, *A Full Life* is a quick tour of Carter's fascinating life. His storytelling is simple and elegant, just like the wood furniture Carter makes by hand. One of my favorite anecdotes: Carter salvaged the Camp David Accords with a human gesture. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was furious with Carter, and the negotiations were about to get called off when Carter went to Begin's cabin and gave him photographs with personal inscriptions for each of Begin's eight grandchildren. After reading the notes, Begin "had a choked voice, and tears were running down his cheeks. I was also emotional, and he asked me to have a seat. After a few minutes, we agreed to try once more."

As David Brooks explained in *The Road to Character,* the Book of Genesis contains two very different versions of Adam. "Adam I is the career-oriented, ambitious side of our nature," Brooks writes. Adam II, in contrast, "wants to have a serene inner character, a quiet but solid sense of right and wrong—not only to do good, but to be good." Jimmy Carter brought Adam II to the fore.



2

HOMO DEUS
Yuval Noah Harari

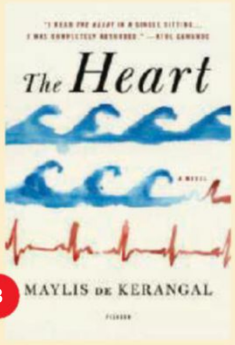
What gives our lives meaning? And what if one day whatever it is that gives us meaning goes away—what will we do then?

I'm still thinking about those weighty questions after finishing *Homo Deus.*

Melinda and I loved Harari's *Sapiens,* which tries to explain how our species came to dominate the earth. It sparked conversations at our dinner table for weeks after we had read it. So when *Homo Deus* came out earlier this year, I grabbed a copy and made sure to take it on our most recent vacation.

I'm glad I did. Harari's new book is as challenging and readable. Rather than looking back, as *Sapiens* does, it looks to the future.

I think of that question of purpose in terms of my own life. My family gives my life purpose—being a good husband, father and friend. Like every parent, I want my children to lead happy, healthy, fulfilling lives. But what if such a life was guaranteed for every child on earth? How would that change the role parents play? I recommended it to Melinda, and she is reading it as I write this review. I can't wait to talk with her about it over dinner.



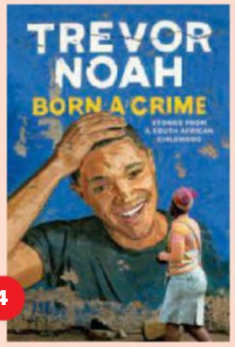
3

THE HEART
Maylis de Kerangal

The story in *The Heart* is simple: three boys at the end of their teenage years go surfing in the middle of the night, and as they're driving back from the beach just before sunrise they get in a car accident. Two of them survive, but one of them, Simon, dies, and his parents have to decide whether or not to donate his heart. They finally decide to do it, and doctors transplant the heart.

The car crash happens in the first 15 pages, so the rest of the book is a meditation on life, death and, as the title suggests, the heart. But just describing the plot is like saying "during a heart transplant, doctors put one person's heart into another person's body" and leaving it at that. It's not the plot that makes *The Heart* such a wonderful book.

The book connects you deeply to people who are only in the story for a few minutes. Kerangal goes on for pages about the girlfriend of the surgeon, for example, even though you never meet that character. The effect reminds you that all the people you meet every day, even if it's just for a few seconds, have lives as full as your own.

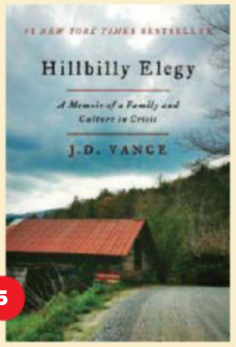


4

BORN A CRIME
Trevor Noah

I'm a longtime fan of Comedy Central's *The Daily Show.* When Jon Stewart stepped down as host in 2015, I was sad to see him go. I was also worried for his replacement, Trevor Noah, a South African comedian. Stewart's style is so unusual that I didn't see how anyone could fill his shoes—especially someone like Noah, who describes himself as an outsider. As popular as Noah was in South Africa, I didn't know whether his humor would connect with American audiences.

I was wrong. Noah's show is every bit as good as Stewart's was. His humor has a lightness and optimism that's refreshing to watch. Reading *Born a Crime,* I quickly learned how Noah's outsider approach has been honed over a lifetime. Again and again throughout his childhood, he discovered that language was more powerful than skin color in building connections with other people. "I became a chameleon," Noah writes. "My color didn't change, but I could change your perception of my color. If you spoke to me in Zulu, I replied to you in Zulu. If you spoke to me in Tswana, I replied to you in Tswana. Maybe I didn't look like you, but if I spoke like you, I was you."



5

HILLBILLY ELEGY
J.D. Vance

Vance grew up in Appalachia, in poor white communities where family strife was a constant, work was not and even many pawnshops had closed their doors.

So imagine what it was like for him when he managed—through the high expectations of his grandparents, the discipline of the Marines and his own big brain—to get himself into Yale Law School. Suddenly he began experiencing life not as the "abandoned son of a man I hardly knew and a woman I wished I didn't" but as a highly sought-after member of one of America's most elite institutions. He was a stranger in a strange land.

Vance bravely acknowledges that his upbringing haunts his own marriage. "Even at my best, I'm a delayed explosion—I can be defused, but only with skill and precision … In my worst moments, I convince myself that there is no exit."

Through deeply personal stories, *Hillbilly Elegy* sheds light on our nation's vast cultural divide—a topic that has become far more relevant than Vance ever dreamed when he was writing this book.


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NATION

Wind power catches a mountain breeze

By Justin Worland

THE STORY OF CARBON COUNTY, WYOMING, CAN BE TOLD in its name. The 8,000-sq.-mi. jurisdiction first appeared on the map—figuratively and literally—in the 1860s along with the development of its vast coal reserve. That energy source, the black gold of the 19th century, defined the region's economy for more than 100 years.

Now, Carbon County is vying for a place at the forefront of America's growing clean-power economy. Years after the last coal mine closed, the area's new energy entrepreneurs see opportunity not down in the ground but up in the air, where they are trying to turn the Cowboy State into a key supplier of wind power for the West Coast.

The demand is rooted in a series of legally binding renewable-energy targets adopted by California, Oregon and Washington State. In California, which set the most aggressive goals, 33% of the state's power must come from sources such as wind and solar by 2020, and 50% by 2030. Those sources currently account for around 27%, and California doesn't produce enough of its own clean energy to keep pace—let alone meet its ambitious timeline.

That gap between need and supply has set off an arms race in Wyoming, Montana and Idaho—all states with lots of wind and relatively little infrastructure to capture it. "It blows more often in Wyoming than it does in most any other part of the Western U.S.," says Stefan Bird, CEO of Pacific Power, a West Coast utility whose parent company plans to build a major wind farm in Wyoming. "It's the least cost renewable we can add to our system by far."

Wind turbines near Cheyenne, Wyo.; the state is trying to become a remote supplier of clean energy

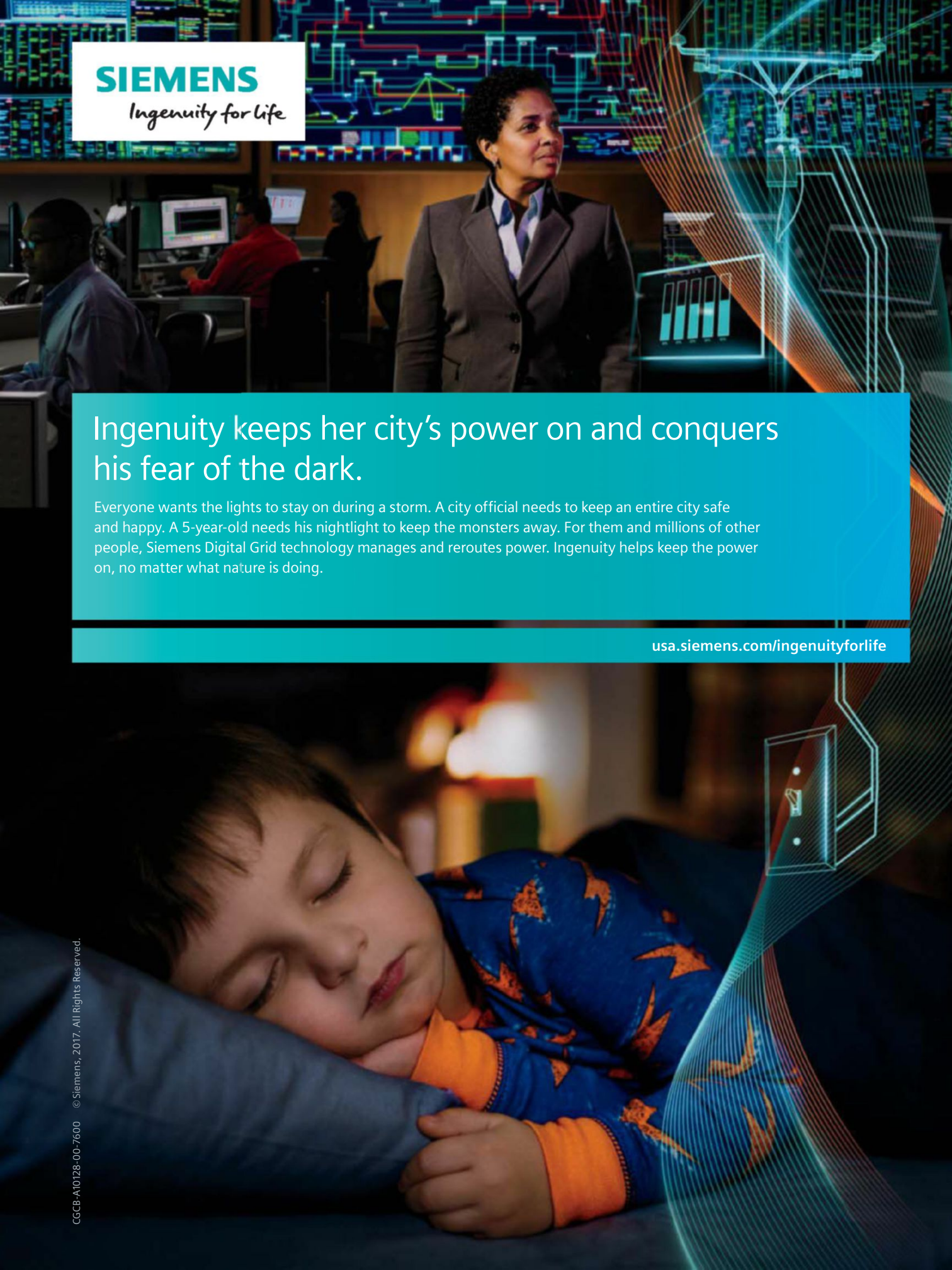
Despite enormous potential, wind-power development in the Western mountain states has lagged behind other parts of the nation. The sparsely populated states don't need more electricity, and the excess power didn't have anywhere to go. But that's changing fast, as demand for wind power increases around the country and technological advances make it cheaper and easier to transmit.

The biggest strides are being made in Wyoming, where two companies are racing to build massive wind farms to supply the West Coast. In Carbon County, the Power Company of Wyoming has broken ground on what will be the largest wind-power installation in the country. The completed project, which is projected to create 1,000 local jobs, calls for 1,000 wind turbines generating enough energy to power nearly a million homes. That power will travel 730 miles to California through a direct current transmission line built by an affiliate. "Wyoming has some of the best wind-energy resources in the world," then Interior Secretary Ken Salazar said in 2012, when the federal government approved the Carbon County farm. "There's no doubt that this project has the potential to be a landmark example."

Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway, which owns Pacific Power, has also jumped on the Wyoming bandwagon, pumping billions into developing its own wind-power farm and transmission lines. That project aims to bring more than a gigawatt of wind power to the West—enough to power 750,000 homes.

The key to all of these projects is getting the power from its source to its users. As the U.S. increases its reliance on clean energy, the ability to move it from one part of the country to another will be critical. "If there is transmission available," says Alex Morgan, a wind analyst at Bloomberg New Energy Finance, "wind projects pop up around it." □

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CENTENNIAL

John F. Kennedy's America answered a call to leadership no longer given voice

By David Von Drehle

THESE ARE WORDS HARD TO IMAGINE WRITING, OR READING: John F. Kennedy was born a century ago. One hundred years is a meaningful milestone, a distance at which even youth seems somehow antique. The concept doesn't square with the unlined Kennedy face, the chestnut hair, the saddle-shoed children, the fluorescent grin. Frozen in time by tragedy, forever young, Kennedy eludes the prison of the past to remain a vibrant symbol of a time when the U.S. felt strapping and full of purpose.

In another sense, though, the Kennedy centennial has arrived with impeccable timing. Although he lived to see less than half of it, Kennedy was an epitome of 20th century America. And there are many reasons to feel that the so-called American century, the Kennedy century, is finally over.

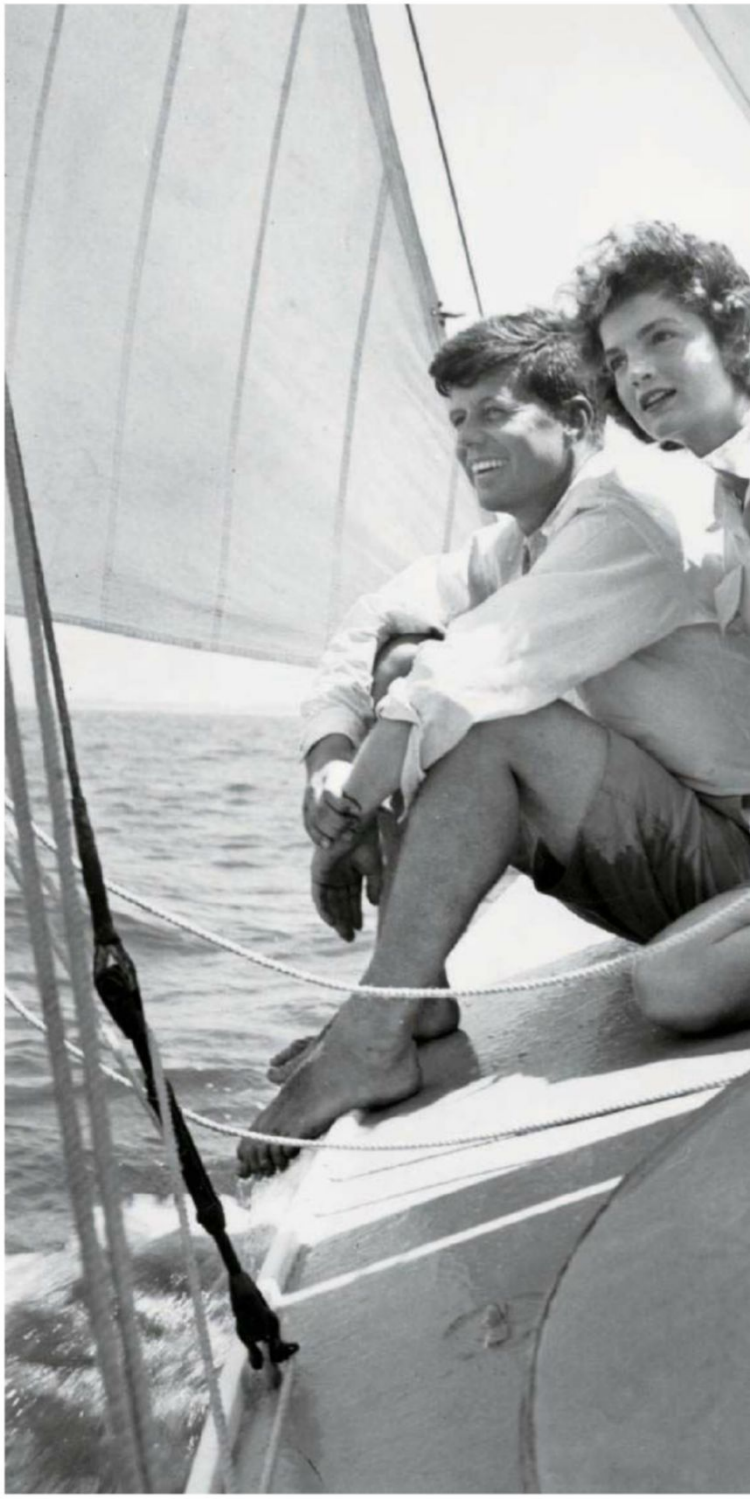
He was born in 1917, a few weeks after the U.S. entered Europe's Great War. This bloody-minded conflict had been tugging at the sleeve of Uncle Sam for years, trying to pull him into the maelstrom that was the beginning of the end for imperial Europe. America did not want to go, did not care to be snared in what George Washington had called the "vicissitudes" of great-power politics.

> 'Ask not what your country can do for you,' JFK said. Trump declared, 'A nation exists to serve its citizens.'

But it happened, and the years of Kennedy's sickly boyhood—which found him in and out of hospitals, emaciated by illness and toughened by pain—were consumed by an intense debate over whether such a thing should ever happen again. Kennedy's father, the rich and insatiable Joseph P. Kennedy, was among the leading voices against America's further involvement in Europe's crises. As the conflagration that would be World War II took shape in Berlin and Rome and Tokyo, the son watched from a front-row seat as his father, Washington's Ambassador to the U.K., struggled to keep the U.S. on the sideline.

Kennedy's childhood and America's reticence ended in the same transformational furnace. The young man connived his way past Navy doctors to earn command of a PT boat in the South Pacific, and when that boat was sunk by the Japanese and the injured Kennedy managed to bring the 10 crewmen who weren't immediately killed to safety, he became a hero. The story of PT-109 launched the political career that fell on Kennedy's shoulders after the combat death of his charismatic older brother Joe.

The war remade the U.S. as well. The leading economies of Europe and Asia were decimated, while the economy of the U.S. had been rescued from the Depression and turbocharged. The vestiges of the European empires crumbled, while the zone of U.S. influence swelled. A country that had resisted the



Kennedy and fiancée Jacqueline Bouvier sailing off the coast of Hyannis Port, Mass., in June 1953

HY PESKIN—GETTY IMAGES



world stage suddenly dominated it.

You see these two creations—John F. Kennedy and the American superpower—rising together, feeling their way forward through the late 1940s, growing into a shared determination to meet the challenges and opportunities opened by the cataclysm of the war. Before the war Kennedy talked of being a history professor in a book-lined study; now, as a Congressman and then U.S. Senator, he radiated an ambition to be President.

When he won that office in 1960, he went to work on an Inaugural Address that would bring all of this into focus—the fact that a people shaped by their tumultuous century would seize the moment offered by history, a responsibility vast and weighty, full of danger and promise. The unforgettable passages still ring of authenticity: they were the right words at the right time from the right man.

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage … Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

He was a tough, glamorous, relentless man representing a tough, glamorous, relentless nation, a union of a man and a moment so apt that his brief presidency, which was marked by appalling failures to go with his inspiring triumphs, still stands out from the background of history. No other President who served so little time in office is remembered with such intensity and passion. Part of that, it must be said, was the incomparable shock of his murder, in broad daylight, with a camera rolling. But just as important was this window he opened onto his nation.

To look at Kennedy and to study his presidency is to glimpse America coming to grips with the nuclear age, waking up to the moral imperative of civil rights, fumbling with the dirty business of counterinsurgencies and regime change. He encapsulates the giddy conviction that *Hey! America can do anything!*—a notion that produced both the moon landings and the Vietnam War. Kennedy is the high before the lows of Watts and Watergate and Whip Inflation Now; the buoyant marker of a fleeting hope that the laws of historical gravity might be suspended, if not revoked outright.

The nation at Kennedy's centennial is a different place, looking inward instead of outward, stepping back from the world instead of toward it. America is led by a generation of politicians who grew up in the relative peace of the postwar order, answering to an electorate more exhausted than energized by the duties of a superpower.

In the White House is a man whose Inaugural Address was in many ways a repudiation of Kennedy's. "Ask not what your country can do for you," Kennedy demanded. Donald Trump said, by contrast, that "a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families and good jobs for themselves. These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public."

Kennedy spoke of a trumpet summoning Americans to "a long twilight struggle, year in and year out … against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself." He spoke of "a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind." He welcomed his role and responsibility, and those of his generation, as defenders of "freedom in its hour of maximum danger," and asked, "Will you join in that historic effort?"

Trump issued "a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this moment on, it's going to be America first."

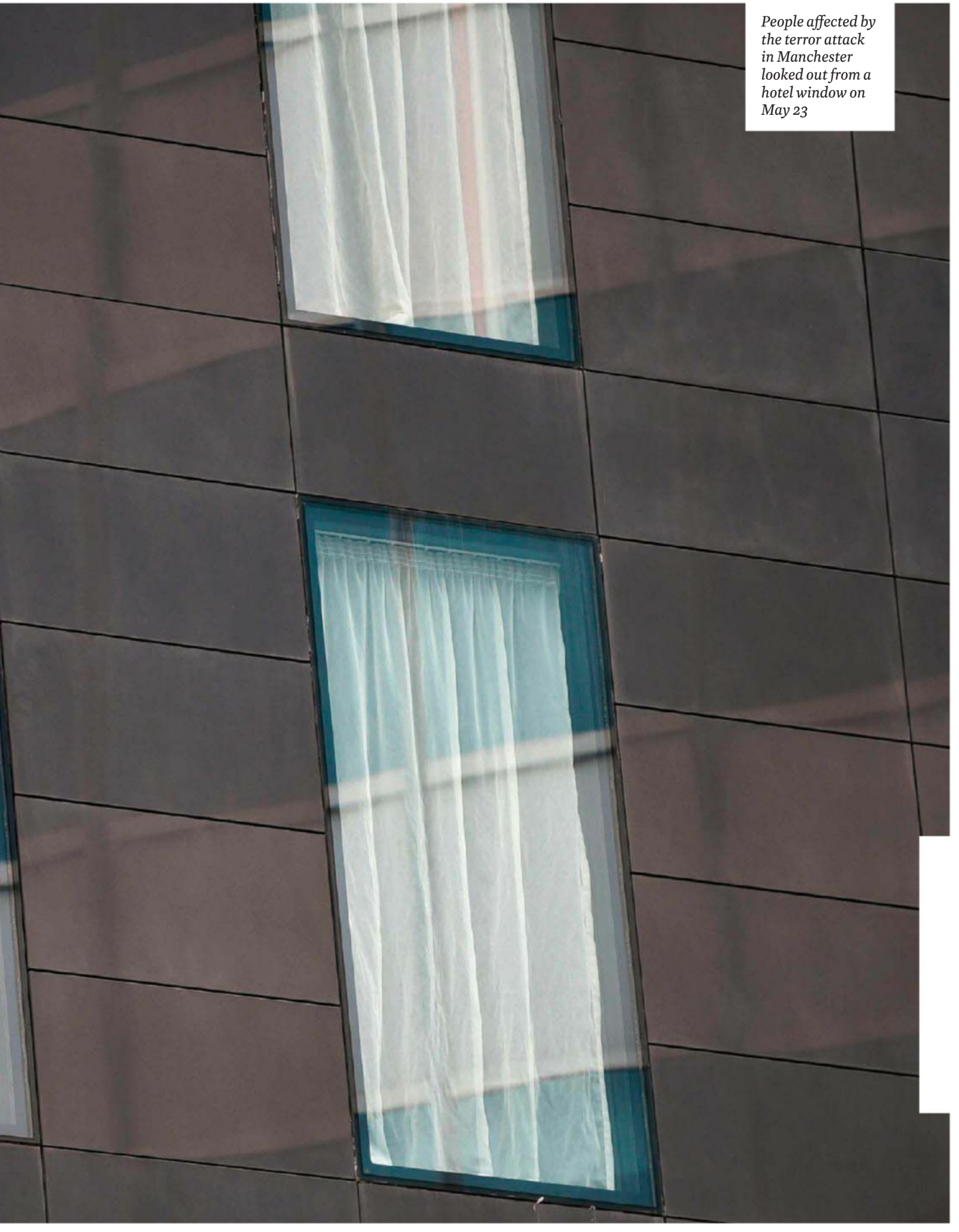
It remains to be seen, decades from now, whether this new President will be judged at his centennial to be the enduring representative of a new and insular America. Or will the nation, after stepping back, heed again the trumpet's call and the twilight struggle? John F. Kennedy was the face and voice of an America that understood the high price of peace and freedom, and with clear-eyed determination was ready to pay it. □

SAVAGERY IN THE U.K.

BRITAIN COMES UNDER ATTACK AT A TURNING POINT

BY DAN STEWART / LONDON





People affected by the terror attack in Manchester looked out from a hotel window on May 23

PHOTOGRAPH BY OLI SCARFF



The device was apparently a crude collage of household items, nuts, screws and bolts packed around 2 lb. of explosives. Like its creator, it appears to have been made in Britain.

At about 10:30 p.m. on Monday, May 22, Salman Abedi carried the homemade weapon into the entrance of Manchester Arena, a concert venue in the heart of Britain's third largest city, as singer Ariana Grande finished her set.

Saffie Rose Roussos, 8, walked into the spring evening, her mother and sister close by. In videos shared online, the young crowd joined Grande in the chorus of her song "One Last Time," raising their cell phones as points of light in the darkness. "One more time," they sang. "I promise after that I'll let you go."

What followed was the worst terrorist attack in Britain in more than a decade, with at least 22 people killed and dozens more injured. But it fit a pattern that has become depressingly familiar across Europe over the past two years: a homegrown extremist, with links to jihadism, discovered too late—in this case, a first-generation Briton, 22, born to Libyan parents. The gleeful claim by the Islamic State. The images of the victims, forever smiling, displayed by the media. The cycles of pain, outrage and resilience.

The pain was especially acute this time because many of the victims were children and teenagers, like Saffie Rose, who died in the blast. Many girls were seeing a hero in the flesh for the first time; Grande sings sweet songs of female empowerment, which made the attack an assault on girlhood *(see report, right)*.

Terrorist attacks have a complicated impact on national psyches, but one common thread that has emerged as ISIS has waged an increasingly violent war on Western Europe is a shift by its governments and citizens to the right. France remains under a seemingly perpetual state of emergency after a series of attacks by Islamic extremists. Even before the attack on a Christmas market in Berlin in December, German Chancellor Angela Merkel began calling for restrictions on Islamic garb, while many in her CDU party would go further, scrapping dual citizenship for children of immigrants.

Now the U.K. is called upon to respond, and at a pivotal moment in its history. A general election is set for June 8, and the largest issue has been how Britain will deal with its epochal departure from the E.U. in 2019. Foreign migration loomed large in the Brexit vote, and the Manchester bombing casts into even higher relief the question of what kind of nation Britain will seek to become.

"The sheer brutality of the Manchester attack will impact very considerably our views of ourselves and our country," says Charlie Falconer, a Labour Party peer and former Justice Secretary under Tony Blair. "The political effect will be very, very profound."

AS A PROMINENT MEMBER of the U.S.-led coalition making air war on the Islamic State, the U.K. has long been high on the group's list of targets. But unlike fellow coalition member France, the U.K. had, until May 22, avoided a mass killing by ISIS on home soil.

There are reasons for this. One is geography: the ISIS playbook calls for grabbing whatever weapon is at hand, frequently firearms. The Paris attack in November 2015 featured military-grade assault weapons reportedly brought across the Continent from Eastern Europe.

But it's not as easy to smuggle weapons into the U.K., an island nation—and strict domestic controls on assault rifles and handguns mean relatively few illegal firearms circulate domestically. Britain also has a rigid, well-funded national-security framework that is considered one of the world's strongest. The U.K.'s counterterrorism budget has been protected from cuts since 2010, and it increased 12.8% in the financial year 2016–17 in response to a "severe" threat level. Mark Rowley, head of national counterterrorism policing, said in March that authorities had foiled 13 terrorism plots in the previous four years—a "whole range from the simple to the complicated."

The sheer number of plots underscore the magnitude of the threat from within. An estimated 850 people from the U.K. have traveled to Iraq and Syria to fight for jihadist groups, according to the British authorities, and about half of them have since returned to the country.

Among them was Abedi, 22, who died carrying out the Manchester attack. Investigators say he traveled to both Syria and Libya, to which his parents had returned after 20 years in the U.K. During their son's visit, his parents grew alarmed at his radicalization and reportedly tried to prevent him from returning to England by taking his passport, only surrendering it when he said he wanted to travel to Saudi Arabia.

Islam is Britain's second largest religion, with over 2.7 million Muslims in England and Wales. That is nearly 5% of the population, higher than the proportion in the U.S. (1%), but lower than that in France (9%) or Belgium (6%). "Our relative integration of Islamic communities is better than in France or Belgium," Crispin Blunt, a Conservative lawmaker and chair of the House of Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee, tells TIME.

Still, *better* is a relative term. A report commissioned by the government found that the work to integrate societies has been "piecemeal," author Dame Louise Casey wrote in December 2016. Urban areas like Manchester and Birmingham remained highly segregated, with some wards featuring Muslim populations of up to 85%. Casey found that too little was being done to build cohesive communities.

Even before Manchester, Britain was wrestling with questions of national identity. Reports of hate crimes in the U.K. rose by 41% in the months after the vote amid widespread anti-immigrant rhetoric that echoed the rancorous political debate. Not all of it was leveled at Muslims, but a Policy Exchange survey published in late 2016 found that over a third of British Muslims said racial harassment was a problem. American Muslims saw a similar increase reflected by the election of Donald Trump to the presidency, with

the number of hate groups targeting Islam rising by nearly a third in 2016, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Overseas, Britain's Muslim community was sometimes rendered as a cartoon, blown out of rational proportion. It didn't help that one of the Islamic State's hall of famers—the executioner Mohammed Emwazi, known as "Jihadi John" and killed by a U.S. drone strike in 2015—was raised in London. During the U.S. presidential campaign, Trump said that parts of London had become "so radicalized that the police are afraid for their own lives," a claim that then Mayor Boris Johnson branded "utter nonsense." In January 2015, Fox News commentator Steven Emerson said that Birmingham—not far from Manchester—had become "totally Muslim, where non-Muslims simply don't go in." Prime Minister David Cameron dubbed Emerson a "complete idiot."

What the country does have are counterterrorism laws that Amnesty International calls "amongst the most draconian in the E.U." They are built on the Terrorism Act of 2000, which gave authorities broad powers of arrest and pre-charge detention.

That might help explain why, until May 22, most ISIS attacks in Britain had been individual assaults on a far smaller scale than the worst in France and Belgium. The most recent one was a dramatic attack on Westminster Bridge in March by a Muslim convert who drove a car into pedestrians before fatally stabbing a police officer. The attack left five people dead, but the tradition of the stiff upper lip—the Spirit of the Blitz—kicked in soon enough. "The attack in Westminster didn't have a lasting impact," Falconer says. "This is different."

As authorities investigated the Manchester attack on May 23, Prime Minister Theresa May raised the threat level facing the country to "critical," its highest level, for the first time in a decade. Her government is putting as many as 5,000 troops on the streets to defend concerts, sporting events and other potential targets in the hope of preventing a second-wave attack.

WHEN MAY CALLED a snap general election for June 8, national security was barely on the agenda. With opinion polls showing her Conservative Party with

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: GEORGINA BETHANY INSTAGRAM PAGE

AN ATTACK ON GIRLHOOD

The horrific symbolism of the Manchester bombing

By Charlotte Alter

Terrorist attacks are intended to sow fear far beyond where they happen, to force people to think twice about doing what was once routine. But the places terrorists choose to strike can have specific meaning too: the symbolic landmarks targeted on 9/11, the cosmopolitan culture of Paris' 10th and 11th arrondissements. Now that grim list includes a concert hall in Manchester filled with young girls wearing cat ears and lip gloss.

Much is still unknown about the terrorist attack at the Ariana Grande concert that killed 22 people and maimed dozens of others. But one thing is clear: the suicide mission, for which ISIS has claimed responsibility, was also an attack on Western girlhood. It was a blow delivered at a moment of budding independence, to young girls taking their first, carefree steps toward becoming empowered women.

"Music is one of the first ways that kids seek to express themselves that is not directly related to their parents," says Caitlin White, managing editor of music for Uproxx. "You're creating a social experience that's outside of your family for your first time."

To legions of young girls, Grande represents that expression. A former Nickelodeon star, Grande has evolved into a pop idol who seems at once sexy and safe. The 23-year-old's new album and tour (which she has since suspended) may bear the title *Dangerous Woman,* but she presents herself as a girl in a ponytail with playful cat ears. She is proud and confident, but without a rap sheet or rehab stint to her name. Grande is a bridge between the comfort of youth and the perils of adolescence. "She feels a little



Georgina Callander, who was killed at the show, met Grande in 2015

safer than Rihanna or Beyoncé," says Maria Sherman, a writer who studies teen fan culture, appealing to "that crucial demographic of young women just entering an adolescent space."

The casualties of the Manchester attack reflect this cruel reality: Georgina Callander was 18. Olivia Campbell was 15. Nell Jones and Sorrell Leczkowski were 14. Saffie Rose Roussos, only 8. Among the older victims were parents waiting to pick up their daughters.

The hideous toll includes young fans for whom the concert was a milestone as much as a show, a step in their transition from impressionable girls to independent women. The kind of women who decide what music they like, earn their own money and use it to buy concert tickets. As the writer and director Ava DuVernay put it on Twitter: "Remember the thrill of your very first concert? The buzz of the crowd. The music loud. A place to trust. To be free. Not this."

These were girls on their way to becoming Dangerous Women. Exactly the kind of women ISIS hates.

around a 20-point lead, May positioned the vote as an invitation for a mandate. The Tories, as May's party is known, want to give Britain a clean break from E.U., withdrawing from the single market and allowing it to create a network of new trade relationships. The opposition Labour Party disdains a "hard Brexit" and seeks to retain all possible advantages of E.U. membership.

Looming over that debate is a more existential question: What kind of a country will Britain be after it leaves? The "Brexiteers" on the Tory side are winning this messaging battle, egged on by influential right-wing newspapers like the *Daily Mail*. They speak of a national renaissance led by the Prime Minister and hold forth about how a Britain freed from the bonds of European bureaucracy can chart its own course back to greatness. Those who see Brexit as an ill-conceived attempt to blow on the embers of the empire have no good answer beyond pointing to the bleak economic headwinds facing the country, and no natural leader to make a positive argument.

With these issues outstanding, the attack in Manchester is unlikely to change the race significantly, according to Philip Cowley, professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. In Britain, he tells TIME, "it is very rare for events in election campaigns to shift the polls very much, almost whatever they are."

But what about after June 8, when the Conservative Party is expected to win an increased majority in Parliament? The party's manifesto, issued before the Manchester attack, talked of considering "what new criminal offenses might need to be created, and what new aggravated offenses might need to be established, to defeat the extremists."

"What we have found in our research is that in the aftermath of attacks like these, and in order to be seen to do something about terrorism, new policies and practices are almost automatically considered," says Julia Hall, who covers antiterrorism for Amnesty International. Falconer, the former Justice Secretary, predicts that domestic and foreign policy will turn markedly more conservative under the next government. "There will be further tightening of immigration and much greater expenditure on security and the police," he says.

However, Amber Rudd, the current Home Secretary, said on May 24 that she believed the police did not require any new legal powers to do their jobs properly. "I am always mindful of making sure that our counterterrorism police have the necessary tools, both in terms of legislation and in terms of money that they need," she told the BBC, "and they have constantly reassured me that they do."

It's a question of approach. "The narrative out there is that these people are power-hungry and desperate to accumulate new powers. That's not exactly the case," David Campbell, a senior litigator who acted as the government's independent reviewer on terrorism legislation until February, tells TIME, and creating them would require new sources of funding. Britain's counterterrorism laws are already stricter than most. "It's not easy to see how one could strengthen them without abandoning civil rights, but also abandoning the community policing upon which our security has depended."

Pointing to Britain's long history of domestic terrorism by the Irish Republican Army in the 1970s and '90s, Campbell says, "The way we deal with terrorism is not so dramatic. I think the realization has sunk in … that the best way to fight terrorism successfully is not by overreaction but by bearing down hard on dangerous criminals without alienating the communities [around them]."

'The sheer brutality of the Manchester attack will impact very considerably our views of ourselves and our country.'

—Charlie Falconer, Labour Party peer

Tony Travers, director of LSE London, sees an ingrained cultural attitude at work. "This is a country that produces mugs that say KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON that sell by the hundreds of thousands," he says. "There is a slight sense of British cultural self-expectation, the sense that when something bad happens, we go to work and we carry on regardless."

IF STIFF UPPER LIPS endure in the Palace of Westminster, it's likely to be a different story internationally. Terrorism is a problem across the globe, and every nation has an interest in working together to prevent it. Days after the Manchester attack, Prime Minister May was due to meet her fellow G-7 leaders in Brussels and discuss ways to work together to tackle global extremism.

"The attack does emphasize the need for a new compact, an overarching international and integrated strategy to deal with the causes and symptoms of militant jihadism," says David Richards, former head of the British Armed Forces, roughly the U.K. equivalent of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. President Trump, Richards says, is already "feeling his way toward something like this" with his call in Saudi Arabia on May 21 for Arab and Muslim nations to join together to combat extremism. "We can only overcome this evil if the forces of good are united and strong," Trump said, "and if everyone in this room does their fair share and fulfills their part of the burden."

Trump spoke at the opening of the Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology in Riyadh, a place partially funded by the same Saudi government that exports fundamentalist Wahabi ideology to Sunni Muslim countries around the globe. (In its caliphate's schools, ISIS used Saudi textbooks.) Iran, which Trump criticized at every stop on his Middle East tour as the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism and instability, has its own official campaign against extremism, dubbed WAVE, for World Against Violence and Extremism. It targets the Sunni nations, led by Saudi Arabia, that account for most of the world's suicide bombers.

The reality is that when it comes to Islamic terrorism, the Saudis are "both arsonist and firefighter," according to Brookings Institution expert Will McCants. Riyadh and other Gulf states



TOBY MELVILLE—REUTERS

The Prime Minister speaks on May 23; later that day, she raised the nation's threat level to "critical"

like the United Arab Emirates offer valuable information to the international intelligence network in which Britain sees almost everything worth seeing. The U.K. is part of the Five Eyes alliance through which the U.S., the U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand share human, signals and military intelligence.

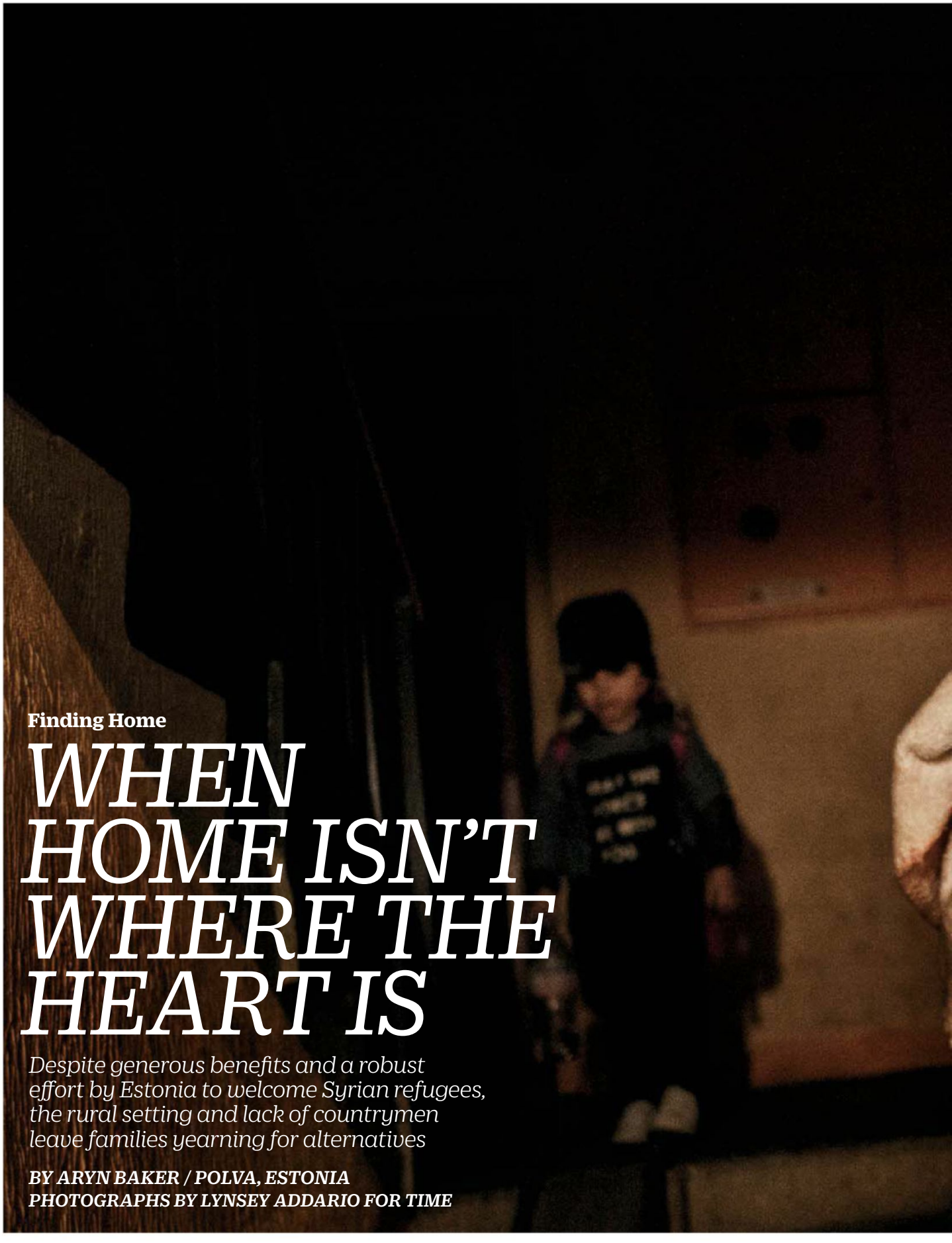
But there's some question whether British cooperation with the E.U. on intelligence will survive the rupture of Brexit. Christoph Heusgen, the top adviser on security and foreign affairs to German Chancellor Merkel, expects that the British will seek to maintain that cooperation even as they move to break away from the E.U. in other ways. "I don't know how it will be managed," he told TIME two days after the attack. "But on the British side, I could imagine that continuing to work with Europe on these security matters will be very high on the agenda. I think it's in the British interest and in our interest."

But at least in Germany, the dominant economic power in Europe, some officials fear that the rancor of the Brexit negotiations could poison their cooperation with the U.K. on intelligence sharing, police work and other issues that are vital to countering terrorism. "The relationship in general will come under severe stress," says Niels Annen, a member of the German parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs.

THE FAMOUS BRITISH SPIRIT of resilience was on full display in Manchester on the night of the attack and in the days after. Taxi drivers—many of them Muslim—offered free lifts to stranded victims. Hotels allowed people caught up in the attacks to stay for free. Manchester United, one of the city's emblematic soccer clubs, played Ajax in the Europa League final in Stockholm. "We must not change the way we live our lives and the way we behave," says Lucy Powell, a member of Parliament from the city. "We need love and unity, and should not be spending time speculating the motives of who perpetrated this."

Steve Rotheram, who was recently elected mayor of the neighboring Liverpool City region, saw the terrorist attack on Manchester up close. His daughters, ages 19 and 21, were at the Ariana Grande concert, on the other side of the arena from the blast. "They got caught up in the panic," he tells TIME. "They saw people whose faces were dripping in blood."

Now he's working with Manchester Mayor Andy Burnham to beef up security and keep their communities safe. Like lawmakers in Westminster, they must figure out where the delicate balance lies between keeping a stiff upper lip and a reluctance to confront pressing issues. "We will make sure all of our contingencies are in place," he says. "But I'm not sure what more you can do about acts of barbarism." —*With reporting by* TARA JOHN *and* MARK LEFTLY/LONDON *and* SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN ◻



Finding Home

WHEN HOME ISN'T WHERE THE HEART IS

Despite generous benefits and a robust effort by Estonia to welcome Syrian refugees, the rural setting and lack of countrymen leave families yearning for alternatives

BY ARYN BAKER / POLVA, ESTONIA
PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME



Taimaa Abazli, exhausted and tearful, enters her family's new home in Polva, Estonia, after an arduous journey from Athens









In Polva, a rural village deep in the Estonian countryside, Iyman Ateek and her sister-in-law Taimaa Abazli squeeze onto a packed public bus. The pair are Syrian refugees, and they have been in the Northern European country for little more than 36 hours. Today they will attend an orientation session for recently arrived refugees in the city of Tartu, 45 minutes away. Iyman and Taimaa are the only women on the bus wearing headscarves, and Taimaa, whom TIME has been following since the September birth of her daughter in a Greek refugee camp, is convinced that everyone is staring at them. Gazing at the patches of snow and sleet outside, Iyman groans. "Living in Europe is very different from the picture we drew in our minds when we left Syria," she says. "We were idiots."



Finding Home

This year TIME is following three refugee families fleeing the war in Syria. Each began 2017 with a new baby, in a transit camp in Greece.









LYNSEY ADDARIO—VERBATIM FOR TIME

Neither Iyman nor Taimaa chose Estonia. Their families were assigned to the country as part of an E.U. plan to disperse the hundreds of thousands of refugees washing up on Mediterranean shores as a result of Syria's ongoing conflict. When the two families set out from Turkey in a rubber raft on Feb. 17, 2016, they thought they would be joining family in Germany within a few days of landing in Greece. Instead, they were trapped on the wrong side of Europe's closing borders. After living in refugee camps for nearly a year, they were offered relocation to Estonia—and only Estonia.

TOP, FROM LEFT: Taimaa gathers her family's belongings in Athens for yet another move; Mohannad pretends to pack daughter Heln; Taimaa and Mohannad touch down in Tallinn. BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: Son Wael is photographed by border officials; Taimaa and her family pull up outside their new home in Polva; Mohannad, with Wael, rests after entering their apartment for the first time

"It feels like an arranged marriage," Iyman says as she watches sparsely populated farmland roll by. "Like when a family forces their daughter to marry a person she didn't choose and doesn't like."





Taimaa and Mohannad visit Iyman and her family at their apartment in Polva; having relatives nearby—Iyman is married to Mohannad's brother—is comforting

NEARLY 13,500 REFUGEES from Greece have been settled in their new countries so far. Most would have preferred Germany, Sweden or France, countries with flourishing immigrant populations, long histories of accepting refugees and large economies. Instead, many have been moved to smaller, less wealthy and more homogenous countries like Estonia in an effort to fairly distribute the burden across the E.U. The result is a grand social experiment in which families like Iyman's are thrust, unprepared, into alien cultures with little experience of outsiders.

Estonia, a nation of 1.3 million, is doing everything in its power to make the transition as seamless as possible. It offers one of the most comprehensive refugee-integration packages in Europe, providing each family with a furnished apartment immediately upon arrival, language courses, schools, translation services and a dedicated support person who will help guide the newcomers through the settling-in process. This is in addition to the unemployment and welfare benefits available to all Estonian citizens. "The aim is to make it as good as we can," says Liana Roosmaa, deputy head of the citizenship and migration policy department at the Ministry of the Interior. Neighboring Lithuania, for example, does not offer housing, and its meager benefits package is cut in half after six months.

Still, Estonia's generous, two-year package may not be enough. More than a quarter of the 150 refugees taken in by Estonia since the program started have already left, taking advantage of Europe's open borders to rejoin family or seek better opportunities elsewhere, even though they risk losing their benefits and ability to apply for asylum. For a country staking its prestige on successful integration, the departures—called remigration—have prompted searching questions. Estonia is beginning to realize that for this arranged marriage to work, it must look beyond material needs and figure out the cultural intangibles that turn a temporary rest stop into a home.

Estonia has one of the smallest Muslim populations in Europe, and no mosque, though there is a prayer hall in Tallinn, the capital. Halal meat, a dietary restriction for even mildly observant Muslims, is difficult to find outside of Tallinn. But like Iyman and Taimaa, most of the refugees have been dispersed to the country's smaller towns and villages. It was a political decision made with practical considerations: sparsely populated rural areas, it was thought, could offer better opportunities for schooling, employment and language immersion. Iyman's and Taimaa's 3-year-olds are automatically entered in preschool, and their infant children, born in Greece just a few months apart, are eligible for free day care at the age of 1½. But the peaceful solitude so treasured by Estonians only accentuates the isolation of Syrians, who prefer the raucous sociability of large communities and the solace of their co-religionists. "They know we are all Muslims," says Iyman. "Why couldn't they put us all together in Tallinn? At least there we can eat halal." Asked if the stunning forest scenery outside her window offered any recompense, she quotes a Syrian proverb: "Even paradise is no fun without people."

Had the refugees come straight from the battlefields of Syria, they might be more appreciative of their warm apartments and generous benefits. But most of the new arrivals spent the past



An Estonian woman watches as Taimaa and Heln take a seat on a bus headed from Polva to Tartu, where the family will attend an orientation seminar

year stuck in Greece, anticipating the triumphant culmination of their arduous journeys and seeing the successes of refugees who landed in Germany or Sweden through the filters of Facebook and Instagram. Estonia, with its cold winters, reserved people and limited economic opportunities, cannot live up to these fantasies—or even Iyman's and Taimaa's comfortable middle-class life back in Syria. "We are getting a lot of things right," says one woman working on Estonia's relocation program. "Where we fail is in managing expectations." I ask how many cases of successful integration she has seen among the recent arrivals. After ensuring that her organization won't be quoted by name, she sighs and says, "Honestly? Zero." She cites the unforgiving weather—this year's spring is one of the worst on record—as well as difficulty learning the language, an inability to find fulfilling jobs and the lack of a strong community of migrants.

But, she argues, most other countries have similar challenges—even Germany. "Sometimes I feel like we are competing with a dream," she says. Successful integration, she continues, "probably won't happen until the next generation, when the children in school today grow up, learn the language and get jobs of their own." But in order to reach that point, the families need to stay.

WHEN IYMAN AND TAIMAA ARRIVE at the orientation in Tartu, it is with a palpable sense of relief. Several Syrian families are already there, and most of the women are wearing headscarves. Arabic ricochets throughout the room at a high volume, a marked contrast from the funereal silence of Estonian public transport.

Said Karam Abbes, a Moroccan man who immigrated to Estonia a decade ago, kicks off the session in Arabic with a few cultural lessons. Estonians don't jaywalk, he explains before exhorting his listeners to be careful of bears when walking in the woods. "As long as there are no lions, we'll be fine," quips one of the refugees, a pun on the name of Syrian President Bashar Assad. But it's not long before the fundamental disconnect between what Estonia thinks the refugees need and what they themselves want comes up.

Abbes has just set out the refugees' subsistence benefits, which average about $560 a month per family, when the discussion turns to the exorbitant price of tomatoes at the local grocery store. "Four euros a kilo!" exclaims Iyman of a price equivalent to $2 per pound. "It seems like we will live on the edge here. If we buy clothes for our children, we won't have enough for food. And if we buy food, we won't be able to save any money." The others nod in agreement.

"People, you know what is happening in your country," Abbes replies. "You are here because you are looking for security and safety, and this is the only thing you should be thinking about right now." Eventually, he adds, once they learn Estonian, they will all have to get jobs—even the women—in order to live a comfortable life. Salaries are low in Estonia, less than $1,300 a month on average, and chances are that few of the professionals will be able to make the kind of money they were used to back home right away. So far, only five members of the 30 or so newly relocated families have found jobs, and none with salaries that exceeded their welfare benefits.

Even those low-paying jobs—as a security guard, a grocery stocker or a

day-care assistant—offer the best path toward successful integration, says Eero Janson, head of the Estonian Refugee Council. "At the end of the day, the wish is that most of the refugees become self-sufficient. To not just live off the social benefits [but] to find this independence [and eventually] to not need our services anymore." Children integrate easily when they go to school, picking up customs and language from their peers. Jobs, says Janson, offer the same experience for adults.

To Mohannad Abazli, Taimaa's husband, working full time to earn a salary equal to state benefits is demoralizing. He's not afraid of hard work, but what's the point if you can't make a living? Integration, he tells the orientation group, is not a priority. "My goal is to go back to Syria. And I need to work to be able to do that. I want to save money so I can go back and rebuild what I lost."

For that reason, he says, he has heard that Germany is far better for the refugees. Not only do they get more cash assistance, but he has read on the Internet that it's much easier to find a well-paying job through the migrant network. Surely that provides better opportunities. The room falls silent, and the refugees look to Abbes for confirmation. He takes a deep breath. "Sometimes Sheik Google gives out wrong information," he says.



IN FEBRUARY, a rumor spread through social media that Germany would take in any refugees who arrived before March 15, much as it did back in 2015, when nearly 1 million people flooded in over the course of the year. The rumor was false—once refugees are relocated through the E.U. scheme, they cannot apply for asylum elsewhere—but the allure of a country that has become synonymous with Shangri-la in refugee circles proved to be too much. At least five families packed up and left. The Estonian government still considers three of them to be "traveling," since they haven't been gone for more than 90 days, but Amjad Wahem, one of those who stayed behind, knows better. A family with no income and no cash doesn't pull kids out of school to take a vacation. They were going to risk it in Germany.

To Amjad, it doesn't make sense. He stayed in contact with one family. The father boasts about hearing birds sing and having good weather, but the family is back in a camp, and the kids can't go to school. Amjad shakes his head. Why risk the security of Estonia for a camp in Germany, where you won't even be eligible for refugee benefits? "I have ambitions, I want to become someone, to do something, but I will not allow myself to fall in the same hole twice," he says. "It's safe here. My children are happy here. People are very nice. It's not Estonia's fault that you're here. It actually solved your problem and brought you here. Give it a chance." But Mohannad, Taimaa's husband, isn't sure it's worth taking that chance. He wants to get on with the next chapter of his family's life, and he is urging his brother, and Iyman, to do the same.

Janson says the departures risk changing Estonian attitudes toward the refugees. Unlike the rest of Europe, where antimigrant sentiment is growing, Estonia has seen little backlash. Yet the stories of "traveling" refugees are causing perception problems. Even families who have no intention of leaving are tarred with the suspicion that they might. Communities, especially in rural areas, put a lot of effort into welcoming the refugees. Landlords are less likely to rent to refugees they think might leave, says Janson. Schools are reluctant to accept kids who won't stay long. And the people of Estonia are hesitant to keep opening their hearts.



Taimaa, Mohannad, Wael and Heln go for a walk on the grounds of their apartment complex during their first day in Polva

"I understand that it is difficult here," says Aike Juks, an unemployed mother from Polva, the same rural village where Iyman and Taimaa are living. "It is the same for us." She doesn't resent the fact that refugees receive the same benefits she does; instead, she regrets that they don't stick around long enough to learn how to cope and enjoy what Estonia has to offer. "It would be nice if some families would decide to stay and live as we have been living," she says. When a refugee family moved into the apartment next door, she did everything she could to welcome them. She helped furnish their apartment and gave them good winter clothes. They left in the middle of the night. When a new family took their place, she did the same. They left as well. Taimaa and Mohannad Abazli are her newest neighbors. Now she has nothing left to give them. Maybe it doesn't matter, she says with a shrug. "The new family isn't likely to stay very long either. One family comes, then it goes. Soon the new family will be gone as well. And then it will be a new family again." —*With reporting by* HOLGER ROONEMAA/TALLINN *and* LAMIS ALJASEM/POLVA

Continued reporting for this project is supported by a grant from the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting and Merck for Mothers

WHERE ARE THEY NOW

TIME has been following the lives of three Syrian babies born in Greek refugee camps. Taimaa and Mohannad Abazli have found a new home in Estonia. Here is what is happening to the other two families:



ALARABI-ALSALEH FAMILY
Faraj, now 8 months old, has settled with his family in a sunny apartment in Thessaloniki, with a view of a local dump and the distant sea. The family of seven was offered relocation to Lithuania, only to have the offer rescinded. The family is deciding whether to appeal or apply for asylum in Greece and give up its dreams of a better life in Northern Europe. Greece has been good to the refugees, but it is in economic free fall, and there are no jobs.



ALTALLAA-ALARSAN FAMILY
Rahaf, born on Nov. 1, has just started cruising around her parents' studio apartment in Thessaloniki. Nour Altallaa and Yousef Alarsan still have no news about which country will accept them. They check the Greek Asylum Service website every day for updates, but they have heard nothing. "The situation we are going through right now, not knowing what will happen to us, it's like being in the middle of the sea," says Yousef.

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THIS DIET MAY HELP YOU LOSE WEIGHT.

HERE'S THE BEST-KEPT SECRET ABOUT WEIGHT LOSS:

FROM LOW CARB AND PALEO

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRANT CORNETT FOR TIME



THIS DIET MAY HELP YOU LOSE WEIGHT.

NO SINGLE DIET—

TO LOW FAT AND VEGAN—WILL WORK FOR EVERYONE.

By Alexandra Sifferlin

LIKE MOST PEOPLE, KEVIN HALL USED TO THINK THE REASON PEOPLE GET FAT IS SIMPLE.

*The National Weight Control Registry is an ongoing study of 10,000 people who have **lost 30 lb. or more and kept it off.** The statistics highlighted in this story show what they have in common.*

98%

CHANGED THEIR DIET IN SOME WAY

'A PERSON CAN EAT ALMOST ANYTHING IF THE PORTION SIZE IS APPROPRIATE.'

Melinda L. Irwin, professor of epidemiology at the Yale School of Public Health

90%

EXERCISE ON AVERAGE ONE HOUR A DAY

"Why don't they just eat less and exercise more?" he remembers thinking. Trained as a physicist, the calories-in-vs.-calories-burned equation for weight loss always made sense to him. But then his own research—and the contestants on a smash reality-TV show—proved him wrong.

Hall, a scientist at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), started watching *The Biggest Loser* a few years ago on the recommendation of a friend. "I saw these folks stepping on scales, and they lost 20 lb. in a week," he says. On the one hand, it tracked with widespread beliefs about weight loss: the workouts were punishing and the diets restrictive, so it stood to reason the men and women on the show would slim down. Still, 20 lb. in a week was a lot. To understand how they were doing it, he decided to study 14 of the contestants for a scientific paper.

Hall quickly learned that in reality-TV-land, a week doesn't always translate into a precise seven days, but no matter: the weight being lost was real, speedy and huge. Over the course of the season, the contestants lost an average of 127 lb. each and about 64% of their body fat. If his study could uncover what was happening in their bodies on a physiological level, he thought, maybe he'd be able to help the staggering 71% of American adults who are overweight.

What he didn't expect to learn was that even when the conditions for weight loss are TV-perfect—with a tough but motivating trainer, telegenic doctors, strict meal plans and killer workouts—the body will, in the long run, fight like hell to get that fat back. Over time, 13 of the 14 contestants Hall studied gained, on average, 66% of the weight they'd lost on the show, and four were heavier than they were before the competition.

That may be depressing enough to make even the most motivated dieter give up. "There's this notion of why bother trying," says Hall. But finding answers to the weight-loss puzzle has never been more critical. The vast majority of American adults are overweight; nearly 40% are clinically obese. And doctors now know that excess body fat dramatically increases the risk of serious health problems, including Type 2 diabetes, heart disease, depression, respiratory problems, major cancers and even fertility problems. A 2017 study found that obesity now drives more early preventable deaths in the U.S. than smoking. This has fueled a weight-loss industry worth $66.3 billion, selling everything from diet pills to meal plans to fancy gym memberships.

It's also fueled a rise in research. Last year the NIH provided an estimated $931 million in funding for obesity research, including Hall's, and that research is giving scientists a new understanding of why dieting is so hard, why keeping the weight off over time is even harder and why the prevailing wisdom about weight loss seems to work only sometimes—for some people.

What scientists are uncovering should bring fresh hope to the 155 million Americans who are overweight, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Leading researchers finally agree, for instance, that exercise, while critical to good health, is not an especially reliable way to keep off body fat over the long term. And the overly simplistic arithmetic of calories in vs. calories out has given way to the more nuanced understanding that it's the composition of a person's diet—rather than how much of it they can burn off working out—that sustains weight loss.

They also know that the best diet for you is very likely not the best diet for your next-door neighbor. Individual responses to different diets—from low fat and vegan to low carb and

paleo—vary enormously. "Some people on a diet program lose 60 lb. and keep it off for two years, and other people follow the same program religiously, and they gain 5 lb.," says Frank Sacks, a leading weight-loss researcher and professor of cardiovascular disease prevention at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. "If we can figure out why, the potential to help people will be huge."

Hall, Sacks and other scientists are showing that the key to weight loss appears to be highly personalized rather than trendy diets. And while weight loss will never be easy for anyone, the evidence is mounting that it's possible for anyone to reach a healthy weight—people just need to find their best way there.

DIETING HAS BEEN an American preoccupation since long before the obesity epidemic took off in the 1980s. In the 1830s, Presbyterian minister Sylvester Graham touted a vegetarian diet that excluded spices, condiments and alcohol. At the turn of the 20th century, it was fashionable to chew food until liquefied, sometimes up to 722 times before swallowing, thanks to the advice of a popular nutrition expert named Horace Fletcher. Lore has it that at about the same time, President William Howard Taft adopted a fairly contemporary plan—low fat, low calorie, with a daily food log—after he got stuck in a White House bathtub.

The concept of the calorie as a unit of energy had been studied and shared in scientific circles throughout Europe for some time, but it wasn't until World War I that calorie counting became de rigueur in the U.S. Amid global food shortages, the American government needed a way to encourage people to cut back on their food intake, so it issued its first ever "scientific diet" for Americans, which had calorie counting at its core.

In the following decades, when being rail-thin became ever more desirable, nearly all dieting advice stressed meals that were low calorie. There was the grapefruit diet of the 1930s (in which people ate half a grapefruit with every meal out of a belief that the fruit contained fat-burning enzymes) and the cabbage-soup diet of the 1950s (a flatulence-inducing plan in which people ate cabbage soup every day for a week alongside low-calorie meals).

The 1960s saw the beginning of the massive commercialization of dieting in the U.S. That's when a New York housewife named Jean Nidetch began hosting friends at her home to talk about their issues with weight and dieting. Nidetch was a self-proclaimed cookie lover who had struggled for years to slim down. Her weekly meetings helped her so much—she lost 72 lb. in about a year—that she ultimately turned those living-room gatherings into a company called Weight Watchers. When it went public in 1968, she and her co-founders became millionaires overnight. Nearly half a century later, Weight Watchers remains one of the most commercially successful diet companies in the world, with 3.6 million active users and $1.2 billion in revenue in 2016.

What most of these diets had in common was an idea that is still popular today: eat fewer calories and you will lose weight. Even the low-fat craze that kicked off in the late 1970s—which was based on the intuitively appealing but incorrect notion that eating fat will make you fat—depended on the calorie-counting model of weight loss. (Since fatty foods are more calorie-dense than, say, plants, logic suggests that if you eat less of them, you will consume fewer calories overall, and then you'll lose weight.)

That's not what happened when people went low fat, though. The diet trend coincided with weight gain. In 1990, adults with obesity made up less than 15% of the U.S. population. By 2010, most states were reporting obesity in 25% or more of their populations. Today that has swelled to 40% of the adult population. For kids and teens, it's 17%.

Research like Hall's is beginning to explain why. As demoralizing as his initial findings were, they weren't altogether surprising: more than 80% of people with obesity who lose weight gain it back. That's because when you lose weight, your resting metabolism (how much energy your body uses when at rest) slows down—possibly an evolutionary holdover from the days when food scarcity was common.

What Hall discovered, however—and what frankly startled him—was that even when the *Biggest Loser* contestants gained back some of their weight, their resting metabolism didn't speed up along with it. Instead, in a cruel twist, it remained low, burning about 700 fewer calories per day than it did before they started losing weight in the first place. "When people see the slowing metabolism numbers," says Hall, "their eyes bulge like, How is that even possible?"

The contestants lose a massive amount of weight in a relatively short period of time—admittedly not how most doctors recommend you lose weight—but research shows that the same slowing metabolism Hall observed tends to happen to regular Joes too. Most people who lose weight gain back the pounds they lost at a rate of 2 to 4 lb. per year.

TIP

GO SLOW AND STEADY

"I've been overweight my entire life. I'd try different diets, lose a few pounds and then gain it back. When I turned 25, I was 485 lb., and I knew I was fighting for my life. I want to have kids one day and be more active with my husband. I wanted to stop sitting on the sidelines of my own life. At the beginning of 2016, I started tracking my calories, working out and making healthier versions of the foods I loved. Ultimately, I fell in love with taking care of myself. My advice is to focus on each day, not how far you have to go. Weight loss is a journey, not a sprint."

Lexi Reed, 26, lost 278 lb. in 16 months

78%

EAT BREAKFAST EVERY DAY

TIP

KEEP A JOURNAL

"Don't just write down everything you eat. Write down how you feel that day, what is going on in your life and how you feel after eating. After a while, look through your journal for patterns. Chances are you'll find some. I'm a recovering food addict, and nothing was more freeing than realizing what behaviors or events were triggering my addiction. It wasn't that I had no willpower; my brain was reacting to certain habits that made it hard for my willpower to do its job. Once I removed those patterns—like keeping cookies around the house—my willpower muscle could finally flex."

Erika Nicole Kendall, 33, lost 170 lb. over two years

45%

WEREN'T ON A DIET PROGRAM

For the 2.2 billion people around the world who are overweight, Hall's findings can seem like a formula for failure—and, at the same time, scientific vindication. They show that it's indeed biology, not simply a lack of willpower, that makes it so hard to lose weight. The findings also make it seem as if the body itself will sabotage any effort to keep weight off in the long term.

But a slower metabolism is not the full story. Despite the biological odds, there are many people who succeed in losing weight and keeping it off. Hall has seen it happen more times than he can count. The catch is that some people appear to succeed with almost every diet approach—it just varies from person to person.

"You take a bunch of people and randomly assign them to follow a low-carb diet or a low-fat diet," Hall says. "You follow them for a couple of years, and what you tend to see is that average weight loss is almost no different between the two groups as a whole. But within each group, there are people who are very successful, people who don't lose any weight and people who gain weight."

Understanding what it is about a given diet that works for a given person remains the holy grail of weight-loss science. But experts are getting closer.

FOR THE PAST 23 YEARS, Rena Wing, a professor of psychiatry and human behavior at Brown University, has run the National Weight Control Registry (NWCR) as a way to track people who successfully lose weight and keep it off. "When we started it, the perspective was that almost no one succeeded at losing weight and keeping it off," says James O. Hill, Wing's collaborator and an obesity researcher at the University of Colorado. "We didn't believe that was the case, but we didn't know for sure because we didn't have the data."

To qualify for initial inclusion in the registry, a person must have lost at least 30 lb. and maintained that weight loss for a year or longer. Today the registry includes more than 10,000 people from across the 50 states with an average weight loss of 66 lb. per person. On average, people on the current list have kept off their weight for more than five years.

The most revealing detail about the registry: everyone on the list has lost significant amounts of weight—but in different ways. About 45% of them say they lost weight following various diets on their own, for instance, and 55% say they used a structured weight-loss program. And most of them had to try more than one diet before the weight loss stuck.



The researchers have identified some similarities among them: 98% of the people in the study say they modified their diet in some way, with most cutting back on how much they ate in a given day. Another through line: 94% increased their physical activity, and the most popular form of exercise was walking.

"There's nothing magical about what they do," says Wing. "Some people emphasize exercise more than others, some follow low-carb diets, and some follow low-fat diets. The one commonality is that they had to make changes in their everyday behaviors."

When asked how they've been able to keep the weight off, the vast majority of people in the study say they eat breakfast every day, weigh themselves at least once a week, watch fewer than 10 hours of television per week



and exercise about an hour a day, on average.

The researchers have also looked at their attitudes and behavior. They found that most of them do not consider themselves Type A, dispelling the idea that only obsessive superplanners can stick to a diet. They learned that many successful dieters were self-described morning people. (Other research supports the anecdotal: for some reason, night owls tend to weigh more than larks.) The researchers also noticed that people with long-term weight loss tended to be motivated by something other than a slimmer waist—like a health scare or the desire to live a longer life, to be able to spend more time with loved ones.

The researchers at the NWCR say it's unlikely that the people they study are somehow genetically endowed or blessed with a personality that makes weight loss easy for them. After all, most people in the study say they had failed several times before when they had tried to lose weight. Instead they were highly motivated, and they kept trying different things until they found something that worked for them.

"Losing weight and keeping it off is hard, and if anyone tells you it's easy, run the other way," says Hill. "But it is absolutely possible, and when people do it, their lives are changed for the better." (Hill came under fire in 2015 for his role as president of an obesity think tank funded by Coca-Cola. During his tenure there, the NWCR published one paper with partial funding from Coca-Cola, but the researchers say their study, which Hill was involved in, was not influenced by the soda giant's financial support.)

Hill, Wing and their colleagues agree that perhaps the most encouraging lesson to be gleaned from their registry is the simplest: in a group of 10,000 real-life biggest losers, no two people lost the weight in quite the same way.

THE BARIATRIC MEDICAL INSTITUTE in Ottawa is founded on that thinking. When people enroll in its weight-loss program, they all start on the same six-month diet and exercise plan—but they are encouraged to diverge from the program, with the help of a physician, whenever they want, in order to figure out what works best for them. The program takes a whole-person approach to weight loss, which means that behavior, psychology and budget—not just biology—inform each person's plan.

"We have a plan that involves getting enough calories and protein and so forth, but we are not married to it," says Dr. Yoni Freedhoff, an obesity expert and the medical director of the clinic. "We try to understand where people are struggling, and then we adjust. Everyone here is doing things slightly differently."

In most cases, people try a few different plans before they get it right. Jody Jeans, 52, an IT project manager in Ottawa, had been overweight since she was a child. When she came to the clinic in 2007, she was 5 ft. 4 in. tall and weighed 240 lb. Though she had lost weight in her 20s doing Weight Watchers, she gained it back after she lost a job and the stress led her to overeat. Jeans would wake up on a Monday and decide she was starting a diet, or never eating dessert again, only to scrap the plan a couple of days, if not hours, later. "Unless you've had a lot of weight to lose, you don't understand what it's like," she says. "It's overwhelming, and people look at you like it's your fault."

A March 2017 study found that people who

55%

USED A WEIGHT-LOSS PROGRAM

'AVOID ALL SUGARY DRINKS. THEY PROVIDE EMPTY CALORIES AND PRODUCE BELLY FAT.'

Dr. Dean Schillinger, chief of general internal medicine at the University of California, San Francisco

75%

WEIGH THEMSELVES AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK

TIP

GIVE YOURSELF A BREAK

"You don't have to eat salad all the time to lose weight. There are so many ways to tweak ingredients and make food you actually love to eat—even pancakes. (Try almond flour.) That being said, the type of food you eat also defines your lifestyle. You can eat junk food and lose weight, but you will probably be hungry all the time. So give yourself an occasional cheat day or reward for sticking to your plan. In the end, you want to lose weight in a healthy way, without feeling like you're hurting yourself."

Nivedith Renga, 26, lost 65 lb. in nine months

62%

WATCH FEWER THAN 10 HOURS OF TV PER WEEK

internalize weight stigma have a harder time maintaining weight loss. That's why most experts argue that pushing people toward health goals rather than a number on the scale can yield better results. "When you solely focus on weight, you may give up on changes in your life that would have positive benefits," says the NIH's Hall.

It took Jeans five years to lose 75 lb. while on a program at Freedhoff's institute, but by paying attention to portion sizes, writing down all her meals and eating more frequent, smaller meals throughout the day, she's kept the weight off for an additional five years. She credits the slow, steady pace for her success. Though she's never been especially motivated to exercise, she found it helpful to track her food each day, as well as make sure she ate enough filling protein and fiber—without having to rely on bland diet staples like grilled chicken over greens (hold the dressing). "I'm a foodie," Jeans says. "If you told me I had to eat the same things every day, it would be torture."

Natalie Casagrande, 31, was on the same program that Jeans was on, but Freedhoff and his colleagues used a different approach with her. Casagrande's weight had fluctuated throughout her life, and she had attempted dangerous diets like starving herself and exercising constantly for quick weight loss. One time, she even dropped from a size 14 to a size 0 in just a few months. When she signed up for the program, Casagrande weighed 173 lb. At 4 ft. 11 in., that meant she was clinically obese, which means having a body mass index of 30 or more.

Once she started working with the team at the Bariatric Medical Institute, Casagrande also tracked her food, but unlike Jeans, she never enjoyed the process. What she did love was exercise. She found her workouts easy to fit into her schedule, and she found them motivating. By meeting with the clinic's psychologist, she also learned that she had generalized anxiety, which helped explain her bouts of emotional eating.

It took Casagrande three tries over three years before she finally lost substantial weight. During one of her relapse periods, she gained 10 lb. She tweaked her plan to focus more on cooking and managing her mental health and then tried again. Today she weighs 116 lb. and has maintained that weight for about a year. "It takes a lot of trial and error to figure out what works," she says. "Not every day is going to be perfect, but I'm here because I pushed through the bad days."

Freedhoff says learning what variables are most important for each person—be they psychological, logistical, food-based—matters more to him than identifying one diet that works for everyone. "So long as we continue to pigeonhole people into certain diets without considering the individuals, the more likely we are to run into problems," he says. That's why a significant portion of his meetings with patients is spent talking about the person's daily responsibilities, their socioeconomic status, their mental health, their comfort in the kitchen.

"Unfortunately," he says, "that's not the norm. The amount of effort needed to understand your patients is more than many doctors put in."

In an August op-ed published in the journal the *Lancet*, Freedhoff and Hall jointly called on the scientific community to spend more time figuring out how doctors can help people sustain healthy lifestyles and less on what diet is best for weight loss. "Crowning a diet king because it delivers a clinically meaningless difference in body weight fuels diet hype, not diet help," they write. "It's high time we start helping."

WHY WEIGHT LOSS CAN VARY SO MUCH FOR PEOPLE ON THE SAME DIET STILL ELUDES SCIENTISTS

EXACTLY WHY WEIGHT LOSS can vary so much for people on the same diet plan still eludes scientists. "It's the biggest open question in the field," says the NIH's Hall. "I wish I knew the answer."

Some speculate it's people's genetics. Over the past several years, researchers have identified nearly 100 genetic markers that appear to be linked to being obese or being overweight, and there's no doubt genes play an important role in how some people break down calories and store fat. But experts estimate that obesity-related genes account for just 3% of the differences between people's sizes—

and those same genes that predispose people to weight gain existed 30 years ago, and 100 years ago, suggesting that genes alone cannot explain the rapid rise in obesity.

What's more, a recent study of 9,000 people found that whether a person carried a gene variation associated with weight gain had no influence on his or her ability to lose weight. "We think this is good news," says study author John Mathers, a professor of human nutrition at Newcastle University. "Carrying the high-risk form of the gene makes you more likely to be a bit heavier, but it shouldn't prevent you from losing weight."

Another area that has some scientists excited is the question of how weight gain is linked to chemicals we are exposed to every day—things like the bisphenol A (BPA) found in linings of canned-food containers and cash-register receipts, the flame retardants in sofas and mattresses, the pesticide residues on our food and the phthalates found in plastics and cosmetics. What these chemicals have in common is their ability to mimic human hormones, and some scientists worry they may be wreaking havoc on the delicate endocrine system, driving fat storage.

"The old paradigm was that poor diet and lack of exercise are underpinning obesity, but now we understand that chemical exposures are an important third factor in the origin of the obesity epidemic," says Dr. Leonardo Trasande, an associate professor of pediatrics, environmental medicine and population health at New York University's School of Medicine. "Chemicals can disrupt hormones and metabolism, which can contribute to disease and disability."

Another frontier scientists are exploring is how the microbiome—the trillions of bacteria that live inside and on the surface of the human body—may be influencing how the body metabolizes certain foods. Dr. Eran Elinav and Eran Segal, researchers for the Personalized Nutrition Project at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel, believe the variation in diet success may lie in the way people's microbiomes react to different foods.

In a 2015 study, Segal and Elinav gave 800 men and women devices that measured their blood-sugar levels every five minutes for a one-week period. They filled out questionnaires about their health, provided blood and stool samples and had their microbiomes sequenced. They also used a mobile app to record their food intake, sleep and exercise.

They found that blood-sugar levels varied widely among people after they ate, even when they ate the exact same meal. This suggests that umbrella recommendations for how to eat could be meaningless. "It was a major surprise to us," says Segal.

The researchers developed an algorithm for each person in the trial using the data they gathered and found that they could accurately predict a person's blood-sugar response to a given food on the basis of their microbiome. That's why Elinav and Segal believe the next frontier in weight-loss science lies in the gut; they believe their algorithm could ultimately help doctors prescribe highly specific diets for people according to how they respond to different foods.

Unsurprisingly, there are enterprising businesses trying to cash in on this idea. Online supplement companies already hawk personalized probiotic pills, with testimonials from customers claiming they lost weight taking them.

So far, research to support the probiotic-pill approach to weight loss is scant. Ditto the genetic tests that claim to be able to tell you whether you're better off on a low-carb diet or a vegan one.

But as science continues to point toward personalization, there's potential for new weight-loss products to flood the zone, some with more evidence than others.

WHEN PEOPLE ARE ASKED to envision their perfect size, many cite a dream weight loss up to three times as great as what a doctor might recommend. Given how difficult that can be to pull off, it's no surprise so many people give up trying to lose weight altogether. It's telling, if a bit of a downer, that in 2017, when Americans have never been heavier, fewer people than ever say they're trying to lose weight.

But most people do not need to lose quite so much weight to improve their health. Research shows that with just a 10% loss of weight, people will experience noticeable changes in their blood pressure and blood sugar control, lowering their risk for heart disease and Type 2 diabetes—two of the costliest diseases in terms of health care dollars and human life.

For Ottawa's Jody Jeans, recalibrating her expectations is what helped her finally lose weight in a healthy—and sustainable—way. People may look at her and see someone who could still afford to lose a few pounds, she says, but she's proud of her current weight, and she is well within the range of what a good doctor would call healthy.

"You have to accept that you're never going to be a willowy model," she says. "But I am at a very good weight that I can manage."

66 LB.

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF WEIGHT LOST BY REGISTRY MEMBERS

'YOU NEED A PLAN THAT SATISFIES HUNGER. MOST DIETS FAIL BECAUSE HUNGER ERODES WILLPOWER.'

Susan Roberts, professor of nutrition at Tufts University and founder of iDiet

5.5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SUSTAINED WEIGHT LOSS



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I HAVE A CHANCE! ♡

Time Off

'CARDS *IS WHAT IT'S ALWAYS BEEN: A MELODRAMA ABOUT POWER-THIRSTY CREEPS.*' —PAGE 63



Keying off the '90s show it's based on, Baywatch *keeps its hunks and lovelies trotting in slo-mo*

MOVIES

Baywatch proves there's nothing wrong with a little skin, sand and surf

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE TRADITION OF OGLING BEAUTIful people on the beach goes much further back than that '90s TV staple of jiggle-schlock, *Baywatch*. In the mid-'60s, the young Sally Field made a charming, ridiculously peppy teen surf angel on ABC's *Gidget*. At the movies in '63, teen heartthrob Frankie Avalon and onetime Mouseketeer Annette Funicello began kicking up sand in *Beach Party*. Before that, Victorian-era gents enjoyed postcards of bathing beauties in woolen swimsuits. Ancient Egyptians probably had their own version of shoreline eye candy.

Still, your friends may laugh if you express a desire to see Seth Gordon's modernized *Baywatch*. Time to find new friends. This new *Baywatch* is lightweight, a tiny bit crude and a trillion grains of sand away from anything approaching realism. But it's also a lot of fun. If you're looking to lose yourself in a picture that won't tax your cranium too much, you could do worse than to submit to this one's frisky surf.

The story, adapted from a long-lost play by Arthur Miller (just kidding), goes something like this: outlandishly proportioned Dwayne Johnson plays Mitch Buchannon, chief lifeguard at an upscale beach filled with well-greased, muscle-bound dudes and scantily clad athletic lovelies. It's lifeguard-tryout time. While there are plenty of qualified candidates striving to join Mitch's team—alongside stalwart sidekicks Stephanie Holden (Ilfenesh Hadera) and CJ Parker (Kelly Rohrbach)—the big boss (Rob Huebel) urges him to favor pompous

PARAMOUNT

party boy Matt Brody (Zac Efron). The former Olympic swimmer fell from grace, Ryan Lochte–style. Meanwhile, scheming beach-club owner Victoria Leeds (Priyanka Chopra) slinks around in skimpy evening dresses. And two stars of the original show, David Hasselhoff and Pamela Anderson, cruise by in cameos.

That's about as much plot as you need for a *Baywatch* movie, and Gordon *(Identity Thief, Horrible Bosses)* keeps the whole thing motoring along nicely. Many of the gags are just plain dumb, but the spirit behind them is so buoyantly innocent that you laugh anyway. In a flashback, we see gold medalist Matt huffing his way arrogantly through a television interview. "There's no *i* in *team,* but there is a *me,*" he tells his interviewer. "Are you dyslexic?" she asks in response. "No," he replies earnestly, "I'm Caucasian."

It's worth noting that Gordon and screenwriters Damian Shannon and Mark Swift are careful not to score cheap jokes at the expense of the women characters. In fact, there are many more dumb-hunk jokes than there are dumb-blonde jokes. (There's probably only one gag that qualifies as the latter, and it's an inoffensive throwaway.) What we get, mostly, is the Rock's Mitch—beautiful in his own right, with the kind of sunbeam smile rarely seen on anyone over the age of 10—lobbing insults at Efron. Pretending not to have taken note of his name, Mitch refers to him by a series of off-the-cuff monikers: "Where you from, One Direction?" he riffs at one point, later addressing this self-important little spud as 'N Sync, Bieber and, appropriately enough, High School Musical. Efron's timing has a pleasant Judy Holliday–style dizziness: Whenever an insult hits, he waits a beat, as if giving himself extra time to let it sink in. He's high on being a himbo.

Should all else fail, there are simply lots of beautiful humans in *Baywatch,* people who are tanned and toned, with teeth whitened to an unreal degree. Your friends—the ones who might think *Baywatch* is beneath them—may pretend they don't care about beach babes and beefcake, but they're probably lying. ◻



Pitt commands attention as (sort of) fictional General McMahon

MOVIES

Brad Pitt takes on the runaway general in *War Machine*

PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE ARMED SERVICES RARELY FATHOM WHAT makes military people tick. *War Machine,* directed by David Michôd *(Animal Kingdom)* and adapted from the late journalist Michael Hastings' book *The Operators,* does. And although it's generally clear-eyed about the dangers of clinging to rigid ideals, it's also surprisingly sympathetic. Who among us hasn't at one time or another done the wrong thing for the right reasons?

Brad Pitt plays stalwart career military man General Glen McMahon, a fictionalized version of General Stanley McChrystal, whom Hastings skewered in an infamous 2010 *Rolling Stone* profile. (McChrystal was the commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan from June 2009 to his dismissal in June 2010.) McMahon, as McChrystal did, says what he thinks, even when it's impolitic or outright disrespectful. He treats his men with sandpaper-rough affection, which they return in full, yet he barely knows what to say to his loyal, dutiful wife (played, wonderfully, by Meg Tilly). And he genuinely believes in the mission he's been brought to Afghanistan to fulfill—to root out insurgents, sure, but also to build roads and schools so Afghan citizens can have a better life. He doggedly pursues it even though he realizes it's unachievable.

Examples of absurdly misguided thinking—on the part of the U.S. military and the government—stack up quickly, and Michôd tracks it all with a sly wink. But even if McMahon is appalling half the time, as Pitt plays him—surveying every fouled-up turn of events with a stern squint—it's not hard to feel some grudging respect for him. Struggling to clarify a mission that will be eternally murky, he's a man fighting himself more than any perceived or real enemy. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

WAR MACHINE: NETFLIX



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DECIDER

The best of everything this year—so far

The year 2017 is barely half elapsed, and already there are more movies, TV shows, songs, etc., than even a practiced pop-culture glutton can ingest. Here's a guide to our faves. For the full lists, visit time.com/entertainment

By Eliza Berman, Raisa Bruner, Daniel D'Addario, Eliana Dockterman and Matt Peckham

TELEVISION



BIG LITTLE LIES, HBO

FEUD: BETTE AND JOAN, FX

THE HANDMAID'S TALE, HULU

In a series defined by its juicy roles, Nicole Kidman shone as a spouse trapped in an abusive marriage

Hulu's landmark drama resonates beyond a single political era

THE YOUNG POPE, HBO

I LOVE DICK, AMAZON



VIDEO GAMES

Phantom memories lurk behind secret doors and at the ends of twisting passages in this narrative puzzler



THE LEGEND OF ZELDA: BREATH OF THE WILD

WHAT REMAINS OF EDITH FINCH

NIOH

HORIZON ZERO DAWN

YAKUZA 0



Tour the 1980s criminal underworld of Tokyo and Osaka in Sega's story-driven beat-'em-up

MOVIES

James Baldwin's elegiac writing comes to life in this powerful documentary narrated by Samuel L. Jackson

I AM NOT YOUR NEGRO

GET OUT

MY LIFE AS A ZUCCHINI

This adaptation of a Gilles Paris novel is a simple story told by tapping into vast reserves of empathy

BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

THE LOVERS



From its Busby Berkeley–inspired choreography to that flower budget, a reminder that movies can still put stars in your eyes



SONGS





"SIGN OF THE TIMES," HARRY STYLES

"GREEN LIGHT," LORDE

"BIG FOR YOUR BOOTS," STORMZY

"BODY LIKE A BACK ROAD," SAM HUNT

"HUMBLE," KENDRICK LAMAR

A raw beat, a simple chorus and the insistent twang of the backing track mix perfectly with Lamar's manic self-confidence



PODCASTS



For better or worse, this mystery podcast got everyone talking—except, of course, Richard Simmons

MISSING RICHARD SIMMONS

NANCY

POD SAVE THE PEOPLE

S-TOWN

ROOKIE

Billed as a successor to the true-crime podcast *Serial*, *S-Town* delivers just as fascinating a story





MacLachlan and Lee in the Black Lodge—the dreamlike limbo where both are trapped

TELEVISION

So far, *Twin Peaks'* mysteries remain unsatisfying

By Daniel D'Addario

"SOMETHING IS MISSING," INTONES the "Log Lady" (Catherine E. Coulson) near the start of the new iteration of *Twin Peaks*. "And you have to find it."

This insight—gleaned from the log that communicates with her telepathically—feels a little too apt. Showtime has revived the soap whose fast-burning two seasons on ABC from 1990 to 1991 helped define what TV would become. In doing so, it has run into a peculiar problem: How do you remake an influential series when the products of its influence—shows that merge surrealistic mystery and bleak amorality—are all over the tube? The answer, in the first two hours, seems to be by sharply diverging from the original. This third season of *Twin Peaks* goes big and cosmic, leaving behind the intimacy of the first two. It's a shift as jarring as the 26 years' worth of new wrinkles on the few returning cast members' faces and one that seems to risk choking off what made the original so resonant.

The '90s *Peaks,* co-created by director David Lynch and writer Mark Frost, depicted the aftermath of the murder of beautiful and troubled teen Laura Palmer (Sheryl Lee). As the residents of the Pacific Northwest town of Twin Peaks metabolized the brutal act, they seemed, individually and collectively, to lose their grip on reality. Special Agent Dale Cooper (Kyle MacLachlan, a standout then and now), tasked with solving the crime, was as susceptible as anyone. *Peaks'* first go-round won fans by using surrealism to tell a fascinating, heartbreaking story.

The current *Peaks* picks up the story fans will remember and applies the familiar eerie tone to new plot lines. Trouble is, it seems to employ surrealism less as a storytelling tool than as an objective in and of itself. The death of Laura Palmer was treated with untold gravity—after all, the whole show was about her fellow citizens' mourning her. But the new season's ultraviolence feels only casually thought through. The show isn't exactly reveling in its graphic images of beaten and murdered women, but it doesn't seem to be treating them with much sensitivity either.

The puzzle-box shows that *Peaks* begot—like *The Leftovers,* the best show currently airing—tend to be made with a certain confidence that the pieces all fit. Even if they don't answer every question they set forward, their brio convinces you that answers do exist. The new *Peaks* seems to shrug at its own mysteries. Why is a brain growing from a tree and talking to Cooper? Well, why not? That makes the show's weirdness, and the volume of time we're asked to spend in this world (18 hour-long episodes), feel unearned.

Lynch's work has grown harder to parse in recent years. But inscrutability is not itself a virtue. *Peaks* does occasionally find emotional highs through its atmosphere of confusion. Lee, as the ghost of Palmer, appears to Cooper and delivers a brief monologue. "I am dead, yet I live," she says, before opening up her face and revealing a shining white light within. It's provocatively beautiful but too bright to make out whether anything's actually behind her eyes. Hopefully, by the time the series concludes, that light won't have obscured only emptiness.

TWIN PEAKS *airs on Sundays at 9 p.m. E.T. on Showtime*

THE DIRECTOR'S JOURNEY

Peaks didn't end in '91. Lynch continued the story with the 1992 film *Fire Walk With Me.* His adventures in TV continued as well: his Oscar-nominated 2001 film *Mulholland Drive* was originally intended as a pilot for ABC. His last major directorial project was 2006's *Inland Empire,* a feature film starring longtime muse Laura Dern—who, along with *Mulholland Drive* star Naomi Watts, is set to appear on the new *Twin Peaks.*



TWIN PEAKS: SHOWTIME; LYNCH: GETTY IMAGES; THE KEEPERS: HOUSE OF CARDS: NETFLIX

TELEVISION

The Keepers avoids true crime's ghastliest pitfalls

TRUE CRIME HAS NEVER BEEN HOTTER. From the dingy (NBC's *Dateline,* pretty much anything on Investigation Discovery) to the highbrow (the podcast *Serial,* HBO's *The Jinx*), entertainment that allows viewers to play detective has increasingly been rewarded with endless discussion and, on TV, robust viewership.

The Keepers, the latest must-see true-crime documentary, is a seven-part Netflix series directed with care and restraint by Ryan White *(The Case Against 8).* Its story is sprawling: the 1969 killing of a young Catholic nun is seemingly tied to alleged sexual abuse by priests at the Baltimore school where she taught. (The church vigorously contested all charges in court.) While Sister Cathy Cesnik's death remains a mystery, its aftereffects include both crushing heartbreak and, for the amateur sleuths who seek to crack her case, a sense of making a difference.

That's the crucial difference between this show and, say, the 2015 Netflix sensation *Making a Murderer,* whose directors clomped heavily over a complicated story. Their aggressive point of view goaded viewers toward certitude. White, by contrast, isn't asking us to be the sleuths. He's depicting the process of discovery among mourners. The "detectives" we follow are Cesnik's former students who set out to solve the case. This isn't just more respectful to the victim than other true-crime stories, with their breathless delight at new clues. It's also more effective.

Not that *The Keepers* is immune to the tricks of its genre. It leans too heavily on musical cues and cliffhangers, and its use of re-enactments feels a bit low-rent. But its story, metastasizing from a single act of violence to depict a warped school culture, is riveting and painful. The process of stumbling toward the truth is, for those close to the case, something more emotionally complex than it is entertaining. *The Keepers* leaves it to its subjects to make conclusions about the crime but allows the rest of us to bear witness. —D.D.

THE KEEPERS *is streaming on Netflix now*

TV'S CRIME WAVE

Cable network Oxygen announced its rebranding as a true-crime network this year, and in the wake of FX's *The People v. O.J. Simpson,* NBC is producing a *Law & Order*–branded fictionalization of the saga of Lyle and Erik Menendez for next season.



Cesnik, the slain nun at the heart of The Keepers



Power couple: Robin Wright and Spacey as running mates

TELEVISION

Cards returns with a thud

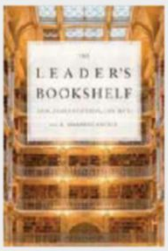
AS REAL-LIFE POLITICS generates high drama, the political shows that flourished in the Obama years—*Veep, Scandal*—suddenly seem less urgent. No show feels more diminished than Netflix's *House of Cards,* now in its fifth season.

Cards is still what it has always been: a melodrama about power-thirsty creeps. But the thrill has waned, its characters' machinations blunted by having actually attained power. President Frank Underwood (Kevin Spacey) continues to run roughshod over the dopes in his way, but this season's focus on manipulating the election to guarantee him a new term seems small compared with what came before. Underwood isn't Nixonian or Clintonian (pick your villain); he's a flat character for whom recognition is its own reward. This may make the show a surprisingly good fit for our times. But onscreen as in life, the desire for fame alone is insufficient motivation to compel viewers to stay tuned. —D.D.

HOUSE OF CARDS *streams on Netflix beginning May 30*

TIME PICKS

MUSIC
Alt-pop singer Halsey gets soulful about her ex on sophomore album ***Hopeless Fountain Kingdom*** (June 2).



BOOKS
TIME contributor and retired Navy admiral James Stavridis explores the geography of oceans and why they matter now in ***Sea Power*** (June 6). Co-author R. Manning Ancell joins Stavridis to survey 200 military generals about the books that influenced them in ***The Leader's Bookshelf*** (out now).

DOCUMENTARY
Comedy icon Carl Reiner talks to artists thriving after age 90 in the HBO documentary ***If You're Not in the Obit, Eat Breakfast*** (June 5).

MOVIES
Zoe Lister-Jones and Adam Pally play an aimless married couple who start a garage band to get their union back on track in indie comedy ***Band Aid*** (June 2).



MUSIC

Pop's young A-listers look to the past

THE BIGGEST STARS IN POP are getting older, and they're looking to their predecessors for inspiration. Consider the No. 1 album in the country the week ending May 18, One Direction star Harry Styles' self-titled solo debut, which pays homage to the rock gods of the last half-century, David Bowie, Queen and Pink Floyd. It became the best-selling debut from a U.K. male artist, moving an estimated 230,000 units. This may mark the first occasion many younger listeners, raised on candy-coated EDM beats, hear rock music that sounds conspicuously like what their parents used to listen to on the radio.

Styles' female contemporaries, many of whom cut their teeth in the world of kids' TV, are charting this surprising course too. Selena Gomez's new single "Bad Liar" uses a prominent sample from Talking Heads' 1977 single "Psycho Killer," earning the approval of that band's front man, David Byrne: "I really like the song … and her performance too," he tweeted. The song is whisper-thin, gorgeous and strange; it layers bells, snares and hand claps underneath its crisp vocal hook. Gomez, a onetime child star who has carried her young fan base along with her into an adult career, was always the quietly experimental one in the teen pop set. Here she doubles down on the weirdness of her sound.

Then there's Miley Cyrus, the wild child of the Disney crew, who has dialed back the intensity of her new music. On her 2013 album, *Bangerz,* she loudly asserted her sexual autonomy, twerking on live TV and swinging nude from a wrecking ball in a video. Then she made an experimental psych-rock album, *Miley Cyrus & Her Dead Petz,* which was released free online in 2015. But on her new single "Malibu," Cyrus' sound shifts to evoke '90s adult-contemporary pop-rock by artists like Sheryl Crow, or Alanis Morissette after she went to India and found enlightenment. "Next to you/ the sky's more blue/ in Malibu," she sings over dreamy instrumentation. There's a little twang in Cyrus' voice that flicks at her Nashville roots, but "Malibu" isn't even country. This is cushiony, lightly percussive soft rock, untrendy as can be.

The video for "Malibu" is set in soft focus, a hazy beachside fantasy in which Cyrus splashes in the surf, pulling a string of balloons. It's a new look for her, but an appealing one. Like her peers, she's just finding her way. —SAM LANSKY

DISNEY KIDS
Gomez, left, starred on the Emmy-winning children's show *Wizards of Waverly Place,* while Cyrus played a teen moonlighting as a pop star on *Hannah Montana*



BAND AID: IFC; GOMEZ, CYRUS: GETTY IMAGES

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A dashing bodyguard for newly elected South Korean President Moon Jae-in became the Internet's latest crush when his photos went viral

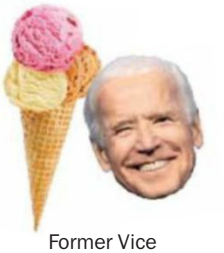


'I will always be the naked girl on a wrecking ball.'

MILEY CYRUS, lamenting that she will never live down her 2013 music video for "Wrecking Ball," during an interview on the *Zach Sang Show*



Drake won a **record 13 trophies at the Billboard Music Awards,** surpassing previous record holder Adele



Former Vice President (and ice cream lover) Joe Biden is the **inspiration for a new Cornell Dairy flavor called Big Red, White & Biden**



At her wedding to James Matthews, **Pippa Middleton wore a high-collared lace gown by Giles Deacon,** guaranteed to appear in bridal look books for years to come

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



Web users dissented after an **annual poll announced that Five Guys had dethroned In-N-Out Burger** as the most loved American burger brand



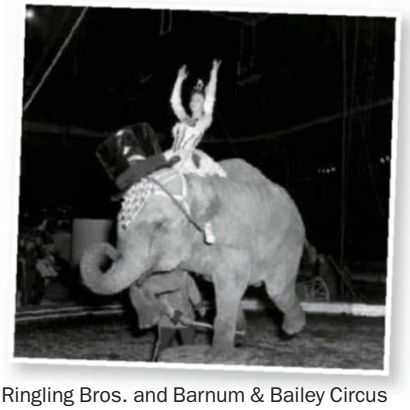
The **feud between pop divas Katy Perry and Taylor Swift appeared to rage on** when Perry dropped a new single, "Swish Swish," which includes the lyrics "'Cause you're a joker/ And I'm a courtside killer queen"

A line of pastel rompers for men—branded the "RompHim"—set the Internet abuzz after the designers launched a viral campaign to fund the clothing design





Bobby Moynihan, Vanessa Bayer and Sasheer Zamata **performed their final sketches on *Saturday Night Live*** after nine, seven and four seasons, respectively



Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus **finally succumbed to the age of digital entertainment,** ending its 146-year run with a bittersweet show in Uniondale, N.Y.

BODYGUARD: AP; ROMPHIM: KICKSTARTER; FIVE GUYS: ALAMY; DRAKE, CYRUS, ICE CREAM, BIDEN, MIDDLETON, PERRY, SWIFT, RINGLING BROS.: MOYNIHAN, BAYER, ZAMATA: GETTY IMAGES

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey


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Elizabeth Warren The Massachusetts Senator and Wall Street watchdog discusses a Democratic plan, Hillary Clinton's new nonprofit and all the tattoos she inspired

Do you think the Democratic Party has put forth a clear, alternative vision to Trump's? No! If we had, we'd be in the majority in the House and Senate and we'd have the White House. Look at the core elements: Every kid is entitled to an education without getting crushed by student-loan debt. Raise the minimum wage. Make bigger investments in infrastructure. Expand Social Security. More banking regulations. Make people at the top pay their fair share in taxes. All of those are supported by the American people by about 2 to 1. The progressive agenda is America's agenda.

Republicans have argued that the financial-reform law Dodd-Frank capped growth and limited lending. Is there any truth to that? There's a problem with the Republican argument: facts. Lending is at an all-time high. Small banks and large banks have made money available. The difference now is that they can't cheat people.

You're the godmother of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Should Americans worry about the changes planned for it in the new House bill? The agency is a watchdog to make sure that families don't get cheated. The Republican bill is about leashing up the watchdog.

Your new book, *This Fight Is Our Fight*, is in large part about that. It's about the long arc: coming out of the Great Depression all the way to now and how America once used the twin tools of regulation and progressive taxation to build a strong middle class. And how trickle-down economics have taken the legs out from underneath our middle class.

You've been adamant about— Adamant? Me?
About separating commercial and investment banking. Why? *Enthusiastic* is the word you meant! Yes. I am very enthusiastic about reinstating a 21st century Glass-Steagall.

White House adviser Gary Cohn is apparently on the same page. Have you talked to him about this? We had a joint meeting with Cohn and Republican and Democratic Senators on the Banking Committee behind closed doors. That's when I spoke directly with him. I had witnesses! In fact, one of my Republican colleagues said to me, partway through my exchange with Mr. Cohn, "What? Did you really mean to say that?"

Hillary Clinton is getting back into politics with a new nonprofit. Are you concerned that it doesn't have to disclose donors? I have just now seen it, so I don't know about the details. But what I do know is that the groups she's identified to help are all terrific groups.

Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell said, "Nevertheless, she persisted," when he tried to prevent you from criticizing a colleague on the Senate floor. That sounds like a campaign slogan. It's also a great tattoo.

Which would you prefer? The tattoo, no doubt. I have had so many people come up and show me NEVERTHELESS, SHE PERSISTED tattoos. They have made it their connection to America's future. They will not sit down and be quiet. Not ever again.

When was the last time someone showed you a tattoo? Just the other night. She said, "I'm in forever, I'm in this fight." I just love it.

That sounds like encouragement to run. Well, it sounds like encouragement to make a change here in Washington.

—SAM FRIZELL

> 'They have made "Nevertheless, she persisted" their connection to America's future. They will not sit down and be quiet. Not ever again.'



NBC/GETTY IMAGES



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